# The Impact of Food Consumption Patterns on Identity: The Case of Zimbabwean Inbetweeners Living in the UK

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## Abstract

This study explores the concept of identity construction through food as exhibited by Zimbabwean inbetweener migrants in the UK. Literature was explored in relation to national identity, migration, consumer culture theory, consumer acculturation, diaspora theory, memory and nostalgia and food consumption and identity. The study used a qualitative research approach to address the issues under investigation. Interviews were used to collect data based on the understanding that food patterns and identity construction are context driven.

The findings indicate that the food experiences of the Zimbabwean inbetweeners were specific to this group. Their food consumption patterns were found to be multi-dimensional. The thesis brings to the fore too, the dynamism of identity and food consumption practices. The food acculturation practices of the Zimbabwean inbetweener migrants showed three consumer acculturation strategies - rejection, adaptation and separation. These were chosen in response to the various challenges and environmental influences they had encountered as they settled in the UK.

In the construction of a national identity in the UK, access to Zimbabwean foods, economic independence, the importance of family and the structured nature of British schools influenced how identity was expressed and constructed. The findings showed that food is a tool that the respondents used to contruct their identity, to develop and maintain relationships with family, friends, communities and general diasporan relationships. The respondents also indicated the importance of eating out and the tensions they experienced in different restaurants that presented themselves as ‘authentic’. Various contested identities were formed depending on the ‘authenticity’ strategy adopted in the ethnic restaurants. These ‘authenticity’ strategies focussed on purity, hybridity, concreteness and abstract. The study contributes to consumer culture

theory by engaging in the study of migrant food consumption practices; and to understand how a migrant group, can relate to the operation and marketing of ethnic restaurants in the diaspora.

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## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| **4M** | Model of Meal Experience |
| **CCT** | Consumer Culture Theory |
| **DEFRA** | Department for Environment, Food and Rural |
| **FAMM** | Five Aspects of Meal Model |
| **FDI** | Foreign Direct Investment |
| **HDI** | Human Development Index |
| **NDP** | National Democratic Party |
| **ONS** | Office for National Statistics |
| **ZANU (PF)** | Zimbabwe African National Congress Patriotic Front |
| **ZAPU (PF)** | Zimbabwe African People's Union |

## List of Key Definitions

| | |
|---|---|
| Authenticity | '*that which is believed to be genuine or real'* (Taylor, 1991, p. 17) |
| Banal nationalism | Speaks of the importance of everyday symbols as the locus where a world of nations is reproduced. |
| Bonsellas | The extra few biscuits or a few sweets given for free to the natives rewarding them for buying from the white traders |
| Consumer acculturation | Consumer acculturation is the acquisition of skills and knowledge needed by a migrant to participate fully in the marketplace in their new geographic environment. |
| Consumer Culture Theory | CCT is not a unified theory but a continuously evolving perspective on consumer society and the markets that shape people's cultural life. |
| Diaspora | This is a Greek term that means a dispersed population which shares common elements of culture or even heritage because of their linkages to a home. |
| Imagined communities | A nation *"is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"* (Anderson, 1991, p.6) |
| Inbetweener | Individuals who spent part of their early childhood in Zimbabwe and part of their adulthood in Britain. |
| Identity | Informs about claims of 'sameness' and 'difference' |
| Invented traditions | These are a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. |
| Kaffir | Derogatory racist term used during the colonisation of Rhodesia referring to black people. |
| Masalads | Affluent Zimbabweans who lived in expensive neighbourhoods away from the poor society. |
| Memory | Memory is the human faculty of preserving certain traces of experience and having access to these- at least in part- through recall. |
| Migrant | Long-term international migrants as people that move from their country of residence for a year, thereby, making their country of destination their new country of residence. |
| Nose brigades | Black Zimbabweans that use English as a way of communicating and are assumed to speak through their nose to sound like 'white' people. |
| Nostalgia | Nostalgia is a '*sentimental longing for one's past'* |

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

Many scholars have researched how the identities of individuals and societies are constructed and how they change over time and in different situations. A host of factors including language, food, religion, status and dressing, have been identified as important identity markers (Rabikowska, 2010; Jafari et al., 2015; Arnould and Thompson, 2018). Identity, and its effects on economic behaviour, is complex and measuring and explaining it can be challenging, particularly when it is related to food consumption. Nevertheless, food consumption remains symbolic particularly among migrants who can identify themselves with the variety of foods they consume and share with others.

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to explore the concept of identity and how food consumption among the black Zimbabwean migrants in the UK affects their identity. This thesis examines how the black Zimbabwean '*inbetweeners*' utilise both their wider food consumption and eating out in restaurants to negotiate their identity in a multi-cultural UK society. 'Inbetweeners' is the term adopted by the author to identify the population of this study. Migration studies often focus on first and second generation migrants. However, the Zimbabwe inbetweeners are different from the Zimbabwean first and second generations in various ways. The first generation were born in Zimbabwe and they moved to the UK as adults. Their migration was sometimes out of choice, for some it was due to the implosion of the Zimbabwean economy and for some it was because of fear of political persecution. These first generation migrants were fully socialised to the Zimbabwean food patterns and had developed their consumer skills *before* they migrated as adults. The second generation are children

born in the UK to Zimbabwean migrant parents. Their experience of Zimbabwean food patterns is based on the consumer socialisation that occurred in the UK.

The Zimbabwean inbetweeners are a different group. Fristly, they were born in Zimbabwe, where they were going through their early stages of consumer socialisation before it was abruptly terminated due to the process of migration to the UK where they were reunited with their parents. Secondly, their migration to the UK was not by choice because this decision was made for them by their parents since they were still children at the time. Thirdly, they were children when they migrated between 2000- 2006 and their age ranges were between 9-12 years old. Now they are adults themselves and some have their own families. For the purpose of this thesis, the group is considered 'in-between' because they spent *part* of their early childhood in Zimbabwe and at least the *latter part* of their teenage and adult years in the UK.

The 21st century has seen a rise in the number of people migrating across international borders in many parts of the word to better their lives (de Haas et al., 2019). In 2017, there were 258 million international migrants globally (United Nations, 2017). The European Union received almost 1 million migrants in 2015. Among the total global migration stock, in 2015, there were 16 million (6.8%) refugees and many people from poor nations migrating to richer nations to improve their livelihoods (UNHCR, 2018a).

The parents of the black Zimbabwean inbetweeners too migrated from Zimbabwe to the UK in search of 'greener pastures' to improve their lives. There are many pull factors that draw people to migrate and among them are better wages and employment (Komito, 2011; Castles et al., 2013; de Haas et al., 2019). Many migrants are also pushed to migrate by poverty, political violence and droughts (United Nations, 2013). Whatever the reasons, these migrant movements bring opportunities but also

discomfort to families and the migrants themselves whether young or old (Flahaux & de Haas, 2016; de Haas, 2019).

### 1.2 Contribution to Academic Knowledge

This thesis contributes to the study of cultural identity focusing on the role of food consumption in identity choices. The contribution to knowledge in this thesis is made in four key areas. First, this thesis provides empirical evidence in the study of the black African migration to the UK. For decades, most black migrant research in the UK has predominantly focused on the study of the Caribbean population (Kaufmann & Harris, 2015; Chessum, 2017; Hall, 2017). However, current migration studies are now focusing on the African population in the diaspora. This thesis fills part of the gap on African migrants in the diaspora by studying the Zimbabwean inbetweeners and their food consumption patterns in their construction and reconstructions of cultural identity in the UK. The findings offer insights into a niche black African migrant group whose experience is under-represented in research on migration to the United Kingdom.

Second, this thesis contributes to the discussion of identity and diversity in Britain with regards to food consumption patterns. It adds to the literature in consumer culture, which perceives culture to be a dynamic concept with many layers and the use of products by people to negotiate their identity (Askegaard et al., 2005; Arnould & Thompson, 2018).

Third, this thesis seeks to gain insights into the influence of food and ethnic eating in identity construction. In particular, the research explores how the black Zimbabwean inbetweeners negotiated their identity construction project within the social and cultural context of ethnic eating and the marketing of specific food experiences.

Finally, the thesis makes a practical contribution to the ethnic marketing. It offers insights to as to how food, marketing strategies and restaurant spaces assist migrants in their complex identity projects.

### 1.3 Research Aim and Objectives

This study aims to examine the role of food consumption in identity construction by focusing on the Zimbabwean black inbetweeners who lived their early formative years in Zimbabwe and are now living in Britain. The research obectives are:

*(i)* *To investigate the role of food consumption experiences among the Zimbabwean inbetweeners living in the UK.*

*(ii)* *To explain how the Zimbabwean inbetweeners make sense of their acquired new and old food patterns in the UK.*

*(iii)* *To explore the influences of the 'Southern African' ethnic restaurants in the inbetweeners identity project in the UK.*

### 1.4 Research Questions

The specific research questions guiding this study are enumerated below.

(i) *What types of food consumption practices do the inbetweeners experience?*

(ii) *How do the inbetweeners make sense of their food consumption experiences?*

(iii) *How do ethnic restaurants impact on the sense of identity of the inbetweeners?*

### 1.5 Being a Zimbabwean Inbetweener

What does it feel like to be an inbetweener? Here are some voices heard during the period of this research. These were not part of the respondents but people with similar characteristics as the inbetweeners. These examples contextualise the stories of the specific inbetweeners who are at the centre of investigation in this research.

**Example 1**

Takunda is a young Zimbabwean living in New Zealand. In 2019, a poem presenting her experiences as a migrant inbetweener went viral with over 1 million YouTube views including the Zimbabwean diaspora community, in Britain. The poem illustrates the inbetweeners' difficulties in negotiating their identity in the host country.

*''At the age of seven, my family immigrated from Zimbabwe.*
*Throughout Aotearoa, I passed through customs,*
*But my culture is made to stay behind.*
*In the classroom, I'm afraid my tongue will beat back to its*
*African rhythm, be concussed by fear,*
*have amnesia, turn all its memories to dust.*
*Yesterday I was African,*
*Today I am lost.*

*Maybe I was blinded by the neon sign of opportunity,*
*failed to read the fine print which read, assimilate or go*
*back to where you came from.*
*I have been led astray like Eve, to snake-like promises of*
*wealth to the prodigal son.*
*I am a child of the Diaspora,*
*a common thread amongst my people and the fabric of what*
*displaces us from our homes.*
*Sometimes it is by choice, most often it is not.*

*To be a child of the Diaspora is to battle two tongues-*
*be forced to trade one for the other,*
*so much so that my articulation of the English language now*
*tastes like the 'unbirthing' of my country,*
*when I travel back to Zimbabwe to reconnect with my roots,*

*I feel I am a jigsaw piece of the wrong puzzle.*
*Zvinotyisa kuva munhu asingazive nyika yanga iri yake*
*pekutanga'.*
*It's an emptying feeling to become foreign to a country that*
*was yours to begin with.*
*I am beginning to forget the taste of my own language and*
*home has become just a memory."*

**(Muzondiwa, 2019)**

**Example 2**

Donel is a 16-year-old boy who found fleeting fame in 2018 by appearing on the UK version of *The Voice* singing competition. *The Voice* tries to identify singers for the future in Britain. Its judges form the panel, with a live audience who can influence the judges' decision based on the contestants' performances. The preliminary film pictured Donel as a normal English boy of mixed origin, eating with his friends in a chicken bar after school. But behind that story was his experience of Zimbabwe, where he

appeared to have spent several years in his grandmother's care before relocating to the UK. He had developed an emotional attachment to his grandmother whom he credited for teaching him about Zimbabwean culture. During his audition, he used his 'inbetween' situation to proclaim confidently his (partial) Zimbabwean identity. Building on his narrative of his migration from Zimbabwe to the UK, he added his native Ndebele language to a popular English song, winning acclaim from the audience and judges for his singing and his unusual approach (The Voice UK, 2018).

**Example 3**

> *"While being black can be a shared experience, not all black experiences are the same. With my family, we share the experience of being black through being Zimbabwean, through the food, through music. With my friends, the context is being young and black in the UK in the new millennium. When it comes to the world online, sometimes the shared experience is as simple as being a confused black kid who hasn't yet worked out where they fit in"* (Varaidzo, 2016, p. 20).

Varaidzo is another 'inbetweener'. She is a blogger and editor of *gal-dem.com*, a website that discusses current issues in the UK. While she is 'in-between' in relation to her UK-Zimbabwe heritage, she is far from it in terms of technology and the use of social media. In the book *The Good Migrant*, she described herself as having a mixed-race heritage, having been born in the UK, lived in Zimbabwe in childhood, and returned to the UK. She explained her wide-ranging experiences and struggles. These included identity questions during her adolescence. Many of these questions were answered after she became confident of her black identity at a later stage in life. Relocating to the UK, she settled in Somerset in a predominantly white community. Varaidzo explained how she never knew any differences between herself and her friends: it was only a conversation that broke out in her white friend's family car that brought about an awareness that she was different. Questions about her hair,

language and role models in life came to the surface. She explains how she began noticing her “standing” hair. Her invention of a new identity and personality to fit in began with her wearing a weave with “flowing hair”. “I*’ve never felt validation like I did when I got the weave*”; it “*felt like I had a place in the world, and the feeling felt good*,” She said *(*Varaidzo, 2016, p. 20).

It is interesting in her account that she chose hair weaves similar to her white friends’ hair but the influence of the style came from black celebrities. It seemed that Varaidzo would pick and choose different aspects of African-American celebrities and other characteristics from her white friends. In her identity crisis, she attempted to learn an Afro-American way of speaking and accessed music online of which she had no experience and knowledge. These paradoxes indicated her willingness to fit into the white community at the same time appreciating and accepting her black identity, albeit not in full view of her white friends. She portrays herself as seeking basic symbols to support her blackness, which she felt was stifled in the UK as she could not find African products in her community. Hence African-American celebrities became her role models for an identity she desired in her space. Her conclusions indicated that environmental influences shaped the dynamism of her identity and its relationship to being both black and Zimbabwean.

What makes these stories interesting is that although Donel and Varaidzo have the independence to make choices, they are also struggling with issues of structure in the form of their culture, friends, society, parents and family, which seem to determine behaviours in private and public spaces. What is common in these three examples is how they struggle with their identity. They all find themselves confused and questioning their sense of belonging, but in the end, they acknowledge that their

identities are fluid and indeed dynamic. They are not passive in the formation of these identities but are actively involved.

### 1.6 Identity and Consumer Culture Theory

Identity politics is a major issue today. Appiah (2018) argues that people have multiple identities, and these are relationally constructed and contradictory.

> *''Identity is not just personal. Our sense of self is shaped by countless affiliations, such as nationality, culture, class, races and religion. Yet these collective identities that shape our world are riddled with contradictions''* (Appiah, 2018, p. 1).

Appiah rejects the static and essentialist perspective that sees identity as given. He shows the discursive nature of identity and how it relies on social interactions. In a similar study, Hall (2014), too argues that identity is not static but rather involves a continuous and evolving process. More so, identities are *"always constituted within and outside representation"* (Hall, 2014, p. 35).

Consumer culture theory as expounded by Arnould & Thompson (2018) is especially relevant to this research. This is because consumer culture theory sees the rise in self-identity issues and presents these issues as stories which are interwoven into webs of consumption and a consumer culture that is constantly changing (Askegaard et al., 2005; Arnould & Thompson, 2018). The black Zimbabwean inbetweeners came from Zimbabwe with its own changing consumer culture to a Britain where they experienced another dynamic consumer culture which was at a more advanced stage.

Consumption today is central to how people are defined as individuals and as a collective group. Through their consumption patterns, people tend to establish their sense of 'self', including their national identity (Billig, 2009; 2017; Croucher, 2018). These identities can manifest themselves through the consumption of identity markers

such as food, music, dress and language among others (Gsir & Mescoli, 2015). The evidence is that the marketplace provides products used by migrants in constructing identity. However, ethnic identity may be consumed through this process (Firat & Vinkatesh, 1995; Thompson, Arnould, & Giesler, 2013; Arnould and Thompson, 2018). This indicates that identity is not given but is fluid and defined by situations which can lead to an individual having multiple identities. This fluidity of identity makes it a problematic construct when culture is as dynamic and constantly changing as the consumer culture (Gsir & Mescoli, 2015).

Some argue that identities can be shattered. Ustuner and Holt's (2007) research on poor migrant women living in Turkish squatter camps showed how they used consumption to construct these 'shattered identities' as they struggled to maintain their village culture against the dominant culture they found in the city.

Luedicke (2011) however pointed out that researchers have *'seldom focused on the psychological or communal favourability of these outcomes; nor have they developed implications for political or social remediation'* (p. 16). When the identity becomes 'shattered', it then is considered unrepairable and dismantled. Instead this thesis argues that identities are constructed, maintained and stored in systems that are politically and socially driven, forming 'disintegrated identities' which do not have to be negative. Because contemporary consumption is fragmented and individualistic people can be empowered to create multiple identities through consumption (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995; Taheri & Jafari, 2014).

### 1.7 Food Consumption and Identity

Business and marketing studies are concerned with culture, but their approach often sees culture as an abstract phenomenon. It is common to assess the nation as if it is

unproblematic when in reality many layers can be revealed once the culture is conceptualised. Stereotypes have been built into the national culture models of Hofstede (1991) and Schwartz (1997). This conceptualisation presents a reductionist approach to culture. Even today, Hofstede fervently defends this notion amidst criticism from a new crop of researchers (Holliday, 2011; McSweeney, 2016). Burr (2015) argues that essentialism takes the human element and social interactions for granted. Jafari (2009) too argued that culture is a more problematic concept than is normally recognised in marketing literature where it has often been misrepresented and stereotyped through an essentialist focus.

Food is an important identity marker. When thinking about identity, food serves almost as a natural metaphor. Hall (2017) indicated that cultural identity is not fixed but is '*a living feast*' full of sediments collected along the way. Takunda says she *tastes* her language; Varaidzo says, she experiences being Zimbabwean *"through the food".* Equally, Donel's Britishness was represented by eating in a chicken bar. Even Hall (2017), when he writes as a migrant himself, talks of the importance of food and memory:

> *''I have discovered since how much memory of the 'old country' is carried by migrants in food and cuisine… I still crave for the national dishes… These smells and tastes bring back an entire life which, for me in London, is no longer mine'' (*Hall, 2017, p. 9).

This quotation shows that food has an influence on migrants and brings memories. Migrants use food as a tool to maintain links with their 'imagined homeland'. Food and food practices are then used as representations which Hall (2014) suggests offer '*a way of imposing an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation, which is the history of all enforced diaspora'* (p. 224).

For Pechurina (2018) too migrants' habits, along with their manners and tastes, reflect cultures associated with nations and national identities that appear to be related to food. Ashley et al., (2004) put eating in perspective:

> *''To eat is a behaviour that develops beyond its ends, replacing, summing up, and signalising other behaviours ... What are these other behaviours? Today we might say all of them; activity, works, sports, effort, leisure, celebration— every one of these situations is expressed through food. We might say that this 'polysemia' of food characterizes modernity''* (p. 6).

As migrants move into modern societies, they find that food has ceased to offer only sustenance and nutrition - it now carries different weights in social, cultural and symbolic meanings (Caplan, 2013; Sobal et al., 2014; Ma, 2015).

### 1.8 Research Methodology

The methodological strategy adopted for this study is social constructionism (Blaikie, 2007; Burr, 2015). Food consumption is a socially constructed process and must be understood and explained in its social context which is influenced by a host of social factors (Luedicke, 2011). This context involves the individual interacting with others during food consumption experiences which generate useful knowledge in understanding identity. A social constructionism approach enables researchers to understand the effects of culture and national identity on migrants and their food consumption patterns as they interact with society at large. These food consumption interactions then partly enable the migrant inbetweeners to negotiate their multiple identities when they interact with communities in multicultural Britain.

The ontological position here is that there are multiple subjective realities when it comes to the concept of identity. All social actors have their interpretations concerning their environment which the researcher interprets to find meanings (Blaikie, 2007;

Andrews, 2012; Ghauri et al., 2020). Social constructionism rejects the idea that a person is a stable collection of features (Blaikie, 2007; Burr, 2015). Individuals are also capable of 'culture swapping' (Oswald,1999, p.315) and creating multiple personalities determined by their environment in which they live (Jamal, 2003; Burr, 2015). Social constructionism thus examines the joint construction of people's understanding of the world, forming the basis of shaping assumptions about reality (Andrews, 2012; Burr, 2015).

This study too follows Warde (2014), who suggests the importance of using data from multiple disciplines and drawing on data from multiple sources to study food and its consumption. To gain greater insight into the respondents' personal experiences, the research method used in this thesis is semi-structured interviews. These interviews allowed the researcher to better understand the world from the respondents' viewpoints regarding how identity is constructed through food consumption. By adopting the snowball sampling technique, a total of sixteen participants were interviewed, and this generated about twenty-four hours of data which was transcribed thereby producing data of 168,429 words.

Structured and semi-structured interviews are at the core of qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Silverman, 2015.

To help contextualise the interview data, this research also identifies three ethnic restaurants known to the inbetweeners and were discussed by some of the respondents in the interviews. All are located in the United Kingdom - a branch of the Nando's restaurant chain located in Wednesfield, Wolverhampton; Nakira, a restaurant located in Birmingham; and finally, e'Khaya, a more local diaspora restaurant located in Dudley. More information can be found in Appendix C.

## 1.9 Clarification of the Researcher's Position

It is good practice in research to clarify the researcher's position throughout the research process. Carling et al., (2014) suggest that:

> *'Positionality in qualitative research refers to the fact that a researcher's characteristics affect both substantive and practical aspects of the research process—from the nature of questions that are asked, through data collection, analysis and writing, to how findings are received'* (p.37).

The researcher's personality, including their social roles and personal characteristics, need to be constantly negotiated during the dynamic research process. The relationship between the researcher and their respondents needs to be explained clearly in migrant research, particularly along the lines of the insider-outsider division.

Previous researchers have focused on the significance of the insider/outsider divides, as these positions can trigger challenges during the research process (Gergen & Gergen 2003; Reinharz, 2011). These changing insider/outsider positions of the researcher have an effect on the research process, which could impact the findings positively or negatively.

This researcher is a lecturer and a part-time pastor of a Zimbabwean congregation in the United Kingdom and therefore an insider to the inbetweeners but an outsider to the UK. Being seen as an apparent insider can prove to be of importance with access to some of the respondents, the information they will provide, their language choice can be easily understood (Pustulka et al., 2019). This may also have negative effects. Some of the respondents were concerned for their lives because of their political affiliations in Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwean Secret Service. Others worried about the UK Border Agency because some of the participants were yet to regularise their migration status.

The natural form of qualitative research also, therefore, requires that the researcher reflects on their experiences and fears, acknowledging them as early as possible in the research process.

## 1.10 Overview of the Thesis

### Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

Chapter one has presented the introduction to the study by highlighting the research context, contribution to academic knowledge, research questions, the background to the study, the research methodology adopted and the clarification of the researcher's position in undertaking this study.

### Chapter Two: The Origin and Historical Overview of Zimbabwe

Chapter two of the thesis discusses the origins of Zimbabwe. It seeks to review how Zimbabwe developed from the period of colonialism through to independence and her situation in the 2000s. The chapter discusses the contested identities in modern Zimbabwe and how the effects of colonialism helped shape both these identities and the development of Zimbabwean consumption culture. Zimbabwean migration patterns to Britain are discussed. Consumer culture in Britain being at an advanced stage is compared to that of Zimbabwe, and the changes in food consumption patterns in Britain are also explored.

### Chapter Three: Literature Review

Chapter three draws on the cultural studies literature and in particular on the concept of dynamism in culture and multiple identities and consumer culture theory (CCT). The chapter also identifies some narrower concepts that are significant in the formation of migrant identities including the impact of memories and nostalgia. The chapter then discusses relevant literature on food and food consumption, and how food can be symbolically consumed by migrants to construct and negotiate their identities.

**Chapter Four: Research Methodology**

Chapter four is the research methodology and provides justifications for the methodological stance, approach and strategy. The chapter sets out social constructionism as the main methodological strategy, its tenets and the data collection methods, including the reasoning behind the use of the sources of data in the research. The chapter also explores how the data collected was analysed to produce the research findings that answer the research questions. The final section of the chapter discusses ethical issues and how these were dealt with, including the anonymity of data and respondents.

**Chapter Five: Presentation of Qualitative Research Findings**

Chapter five presents the qualitative results arising out of the interviews conducted. The data evidence from the respondents relates to the types of food consumption patterns of the inbetweeners and how they make sense of these experience is presented. This includes their experience of eating out in different groups and in various ethnic restaurants of Southern African heritage.

**Chapter Six: Discussion of Research Findings**

Chapter six discusses the research findings. It puts together the material in chapters five and six to probe deeper into the issues of identity formation and food consumption and its tensions and how food experiences enhance the fluidity of identity among the inbetweener group. This chapter also discusses the role of food and the restaurant space in shaping the negotiation of the multiple identities of the inbetweeners and how this involves approaches to the issue of authenticity.

**Chapter Seven: Conclusion, Recommendations and Limitations**

Chapter seven summarises the thesis and sets out its contribution to research, recommendations, implications for research and future directions for research in migrant and ethnic food consumption and finally, the research limitations to this research are provided.

# CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN ZIMBABWE

## 2.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is three-fold. First, the chapter will present a historical overview and origin of the current nation of Zimbabwe. Secondly, this chapter provides a discussion on the many contested identities in modern Zimbabwe and how the effects of colonization helped in shaping these identities as well as the development of Zimbabwean consumption culture. Finally, Zimbabwean migration patterns to Britain are discussed and consumer culture in Britain which is a more advanced stage compared to that of Zimbabwe. The changes in food and food consumption patterns in Britain are also set out to develop the context of the research.

## 2.2 The Origin of Zimbabwe

The republic of Zimbabwe which translates in Shona as '*dzimba dzemabwe'* meaning 'house of stones' is a country located in the southern-most part of Africa. The country shares boundaries with Zambia in the north, Mozambique in the East, Botswana in the West and South Africa in the south. The country is also situated between the Zambezi River in the north and Limpopo River in the south. Zimbabwe has a population of an estimated 13,061,239 million (Zimstat, 2013). Several ethnic groups exist in Zimbabwe with the Shona making up to 80% of the population, the Ndebele (16%) and other minority ethnic groups making 4% (Sikwila, 2013; Mlambo, 2014). Figure 2.1 below shows the modern-day location of the Republic of Zimbabwe on the map of Africa.

**Figure 2.1 Map of Africa**


**Source:** Zhuwawo (2015)

The current Republic of Zimbabwe has gone through various name changes, being known as Southern Rhodesia after Cecil Rhodes (regarded as its founder) in 1923. After the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain in 1965, it was

renamed Rhodesia (White, 2015; Nyamunda, 2016). Upon independence, under the black majority rule, the country was finally renamed the Republic of Zimbabwe after ZANU (PF) had won the election from the white minority (Capital, 2019). The various changes in the name indicate that Zimbabwe as a country has gone through identity crises. The trajectory of name changes is presented in Table 2.1 below.

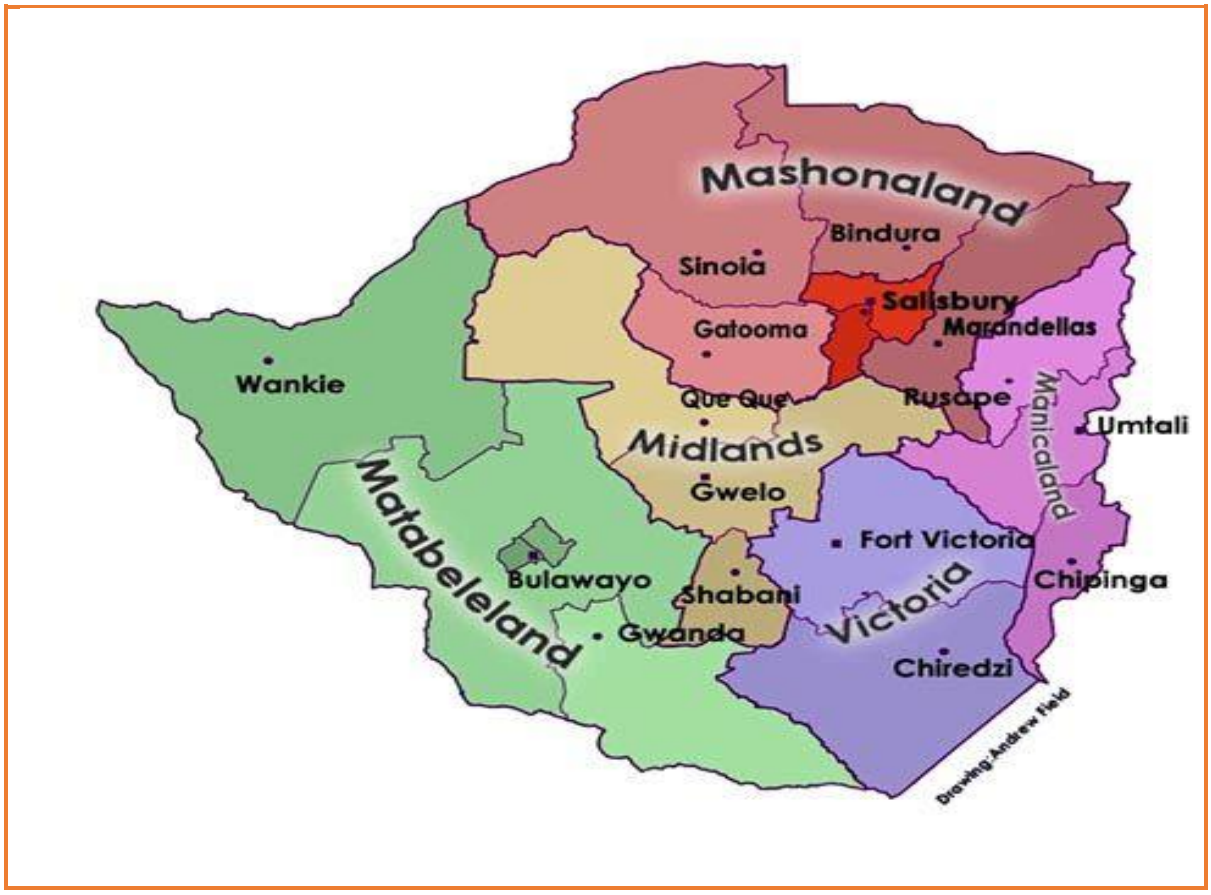
**Table 2.1 Creation of Modern Zimbabwe and its Changing Nomenclature**

| YEARS | NOMENCLATURE |
|---|---|
| 1923 | Southern Rhodesia |
| 1953-1963 | Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland |
| 1965 | Rhodesia |
| 1979 | Zimbabwe-Rhodesia |
| 1980 | The Republic of Zimbabwe |

**Source:** Mlambo (2014)

Next figure 2.2 also shows the map of colonial Zimbabwe with various colonial names given to the country and the cities. For example, Harare was Salisbury, Masvingo was Fort Victoria, Kadoma was Gatooma and Kwekwe was Que Gatewoman.

**Figure 2.2 The map of Zimbabwe with colonial names**




**Source:** David (2019)

Figure 2.3 illustrates the map of modern Zimbabwe with the cities and towns now bearing the names in languages spoken in Zimbabwe by the black population. The current regional identities in Zimbabwe are formed around these provincial names which were introduced during colonization by the white settlers (Ndlovu, 2012).

**Figure 2.3 The map of modern Zimbabwe**


**Source:** Orozoco and Lindley (2007)

### 2.2.1 Constructing a Contested Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe

The origin of modern Zimbabwe is found in the colonial division of Africa in the nineteenth century. This was accomplished by the Europeans acting partly in co-operation and partly in conflict, with the local population (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007; Mlambo, 2014; Nyere, 2016). Some researchers suggest that in the pre-colonial period, Zimbabwe was not a nation although there was one in the making before colonialism reconfigured it by literally ‘lumping' together different ethnic groups in establishing the nation (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007; Mlambo, 2013).

The fate of the land that would become Zimbabwe’s was decided thousands of miles away at the Berlin Colonial Conference (1884-1885) where Africa was divided into various spheres by the European powers that wanted to expand their trading markets

and access to raw materials (Pakenham, 2015; Gwekwerere et al., 2018). From then, until independence in 1980, the primary determinants of identity in *Rhodesia* were imposed with a top-down approach by the colonialists. Rhodesia's history for decades reflected this colonial imposition of a new quasi-British identity with no reference to local identities (Seirlis, 2004).

A Royal Charter of 1889 was awarded by the UK government to the British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C) giving them the right to occupy and govern the territory (Bonello, 2010; Gwekwerere et al., 2018). The B.S.A.C hoped to find vast amounts of minerals. However, when this did not happen, the colonizers settled for agriculture. This involved the settlers dispossessing the locals of their land. Colonial laws segregated the natives, removing them from their arable land to dry and inhabitable lands. Legislation favouring the 'white settlers' was then passed by the settler government in Rhodesia (Andersson & Green, 2016; Gwekwerere, et al., 2018).

Next table 2.2 shows the comparison of the land size occupied by both the settlers and natives as well as the unallocated land. The settlers occupied over nineteen million acres of land, while the natives land ownership was slightly over twenty million by 1911 (Andersson & Green, 2016; Gwekwerere et al., 2018; Chingozha & Von Fintel, 2019).

**Table 2.2 Land Distribution in 1911**

| Category | Land size in acres (Million) | Percentage of country |
|---|---|---|
| **Settler occupied land** | 19, 032, 320 | 20.7 |
| **Native allocated land** | 21, 390, 080 | 23.2 |
| **Unallocated land** | 51, 628, 800 | 56.1 |
| **Total** | 92, 051, 200 | 100 |

**Source:** Adapted from Gwekwerere et al., (2018) and Chingozha and van Fintel (2019)

It is important to highlight that the land allocated to the natives meant that they couldn't grow crops as competitively as their white counterparts. Therefore, the local population began to rely on working on the white settlers' farms to sustain themselves. By 1963 the 2.5 million native population were concentrated in just 50,000 square miles of land while just over a fifth of a million white settlers enjoyed at least the other 75,000 square miles (Floyd, 1962; Chigora & Guzura, 2008). After the signing of Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U.D.I) in 1965, Southern Rhodesia became Rhodesia with Ian Smith becoming the ‘colony’ leader. The country was isolated by the international community. However, South Africa and Portugal offered the Rhodesian regime immense support (Abbott & Botham, 2011; De Meneses & McNamara, 2012; Onslow, 2013; Nyamunda, 2019).

ZAPU and Z.A.N.U (PF) were formed as resistance groups in a bid to remove the white minority rule and replace it with black majority rule. The liberation struggle, which had led to as many as 30 000 casualties, ceased after the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement on the 21$^{st}$ of December 1979. Thereafter, elections were held in 1980 and

ZANU (PF) won with support from the largest (Shona) ethnic group (Sithole, 1997; Kagoro, 2004; Murambadoro, 2015). Majority black rule led to many white settlers migrating to South Africa where apartheid remained until 1994 (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Pasura, 2012; Mlambo, 2014).

In 1980, President Mugabe inherited a thriving economy. The government succeeded in increasing literacy level to 90%, with a life expectancy of 67 years and Zimbabwe was regarded as the breadbasket of Africa (Sachikonye, 2002; Moyo, 2011; Mpondi, 2015; Malinga, 2018). However, the "New Zimbabwe" experienced a dark period after independence, which saw ZANU (PF) killing as many as 20,000 Ndebele people in a tribal war between the two biggest tribes in Zimbabwe - the Shona and the Ndebele. This led to many of the Ndebele people migrating to neighbouring and more distant countries (Pasura, 2012; Mlambo, 2013; McGregor & Pasura, 2014; Ncube & Siziba, 2017). Economic challenges began in the 1990s as the ZANU (PF) government introduced an IMF/World Bank approved the Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) to accelerate economic growth. This brought hardship to the Zimbabwean people with many losing their jobs, companies shutting down increasing migration of professionals such as teachers, nurses and doctors to other countries (McGregor, 2006; Morreira, 2010; Mzumara, 2012; Chakanda, 2019) and the country went through a drought in the middle of these economic challenges (Stoeffler et al., 2016).

ZANU (PF) led government policies promoted farm invasions entitled Fast-Tracked Land Reform Programme (F.T.L.R.P). Some of the remaining white farmers were either killed and or lost their private lands (Moyo, 2011; Hove & Gwiza, 2012). About 4,500 white-owned commercial farms were forcibly taken by war veterans. These farm invasions were instrumental in the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (M.D.C) in 1999. M.D.C was portrayed by ZANU (PF) members as a party formed to

reverse the liberation war gains. This led to political violence which was directed towards M.D.C members and to anyone who appeared to be against these reforms (Willems, 2004; Pasura, 2008; Mutanda, 2013). These tensions saw Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) decrease from $400 million to a paltry $30 million (Noko, 2011; Madebwe & Madebwe, 2017).

To sustain the economy, the government printed more money causing hyperinflation. Consequently, shops ran out of basic commodities such as drugs, food, fuel and unemployment soared to over 80% (Noko, 2011; Stoeffler et al., 2016). Table 2.3 below shows the hyperinflation which took place between March 2007 to November 2008. The economy became dollarized and multiple other currencies were also used (Kavila & Le Roux, 2016; McIndoe-Calder, 2018).

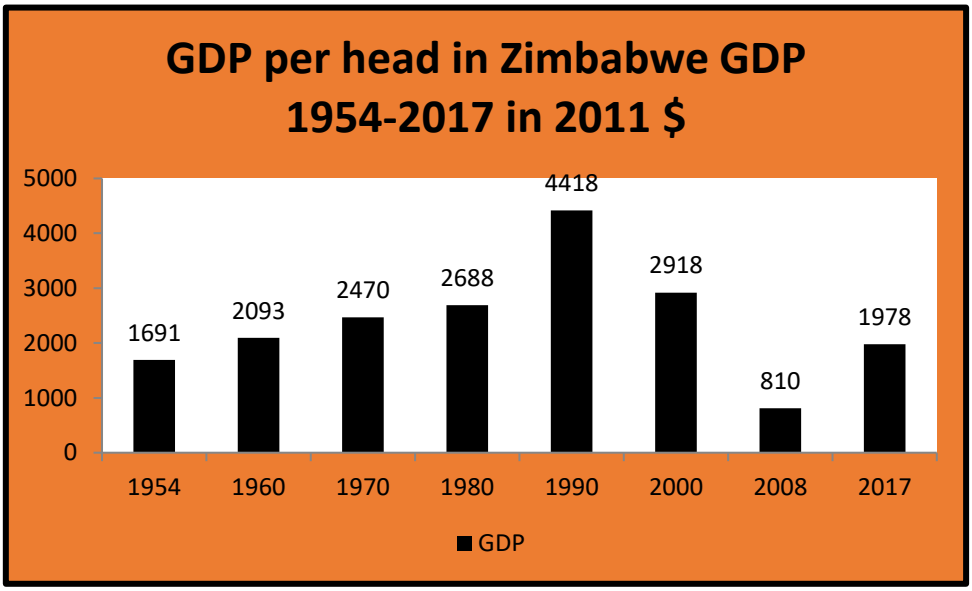
**Table 2.3 Zimbabwe Hyperinflation 2007- 2008**

| Month | Monthly on month Inflation rate (%) | Year on Year Inflation rate % (2007-2008) |
|---|---|---|
| March 2007 | 50.54 | 2, 200.00 |
| July 2007 | 31.60 | 7, 634.00 |
| Nov 2007 | 131.42 | 26, 470.78 |
| March 2008 | 281.29 | 417, 823.13 |
| July 2008 | 2, 600.24 | 231, 150, 888.87 |
| Nov 2008 | 79,600,000,000 | 89,700,000,000,000,000,000,000. |

**Source:** Noko (2011)

The food and economic crisis too deepened in 2008. Figure 2.4 shows GDP per head from 1954 to 2017.

**Figure 2.4 Zimbabwe GDP per head from 1954-2017**




**Source:** Penn World Tables (2019)

Table 2.4 below shows the differences between UK and Zimbabwe according to the HDI index. The United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) is an average of life expectancy, education and output per head. It is used by policy makers to make quick judgements on the performances of countries as they are presented on as league tables (Hou, Walsh, & Zhang, 2015).

**Table 2.4: HDI Comparison between Zimbabwe and the UK**

| Years | U.K. | Zimbabwe |
|---|---|---|
| **1990** | 0.775 | 0.491 |
| **2000** | 0.867 | 0.440 |
| **2010** | 0.905 | 0.467 |
| **2017** | 0.922 | 0.535 |

**Source:** United Nations Human Development (2019)

Comparatively, the UK is ranked number 14 in the world on the HDI while Zimbabwe ranked number 156 reflecting its poor social conditions. In this table, it is evident also that social conditions worsened in Zimbabwe between 1990 and 2000. In the year 2000, Zimbabwe scored less than in 1990 but after 2010 the data shows some improvements.

### 2.3 Contested identities in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe

Identity in Zimbabwe is dynamic, fluid and contested. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) argues that being a Zimbabwean, "… *like all historical and social phenomenon, is exceedingly difficult to define*" (p.46). Various facets of the Zimbabwean story contribute to this difficulty.

#### 2.3.1 Pre-Independence identities

The sense of distance separating the 'civilised' white Europeans from the black African 'savages' was created by colonialists. For most Europeans, Eurocentrism was a measure of 'civilisation' that needed to be propagated to the Africans. Europeans established this 'civilization' process by erasing the culture, history and agency of Africa which made Africans the racialized 'other'. Racialized identities were used to create distance between the white settlers and the 'Africans' (Burke, 1996; Mamdani, 2001; Fitzmaurice, 2015).

During colonisation, 'black' identity involved the imposition of contested racialised categories and their embodiment in rules, laws and population classifications (Raftopoulos, 2012; Gwekwerere, et al., 2018). Tribal and racial identities were constructed by the white settlers for the natives. This was to prevent them from forming nationally integrated identities. These tribes were further separated from each other after being geographically compartmentalised (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007;

Mhlanga, 2013). Legally, the White Europeans, Asians and Coloureds, were governed by civil laws while the natives were governed by customary law. Identities were also governed by laws which determined access to services and products (Burke, 1996; Mamdani, 2001; Mlambo, 2013). The colonialists issued identity cards *(situpa/ chitupa)* which indicated one's ethnic identity, village and district of origin which are still in use in contemporary Zimbabwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009).

Natives were referred using derogatory terms like ‘‘kaffir’’. Such names made the white settlers feel superior distancing them from what they considered to be ‘uncivilized' natives. Even decades after attainment of independence, many are still operating under the illusion that *‘European names, religions, architecture, rites of passage, dress codes, and languages constitute the epitome of culture and civilization’* (Gwekwerere et al., 2018, p.13).

The white settlers expected their rule to last into the distant future, but there were continuing forms of black resistance leading to the struggle against the white regime. Nationalist movements were started against the racist notions of the white settlers. The natives therefore fought against the white establishment, at the same time forging their own re-imagined nationhood constructed on nativism. Nativism emphasised that authentic citizens of Zimbabwe were blacks and not ‘mabhunu’ meaning white settlers (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Gwekwerere et al., 2018). Politically, informal resistance was influenced by cultural nationalism which was meant

> ‘‘*… to inspire 'love' of community, educating members of the community on their common national heritage of splendour and suffering, engaging in naming rituals, celebrating cultural uniqueness, and rejecting foreign practice'’* (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009, p. 946).

The black cultural nationalist narrative was later used to erase the settlers' narrative of white European cultural supremacy. Black nationalists had their national symbols and religions which they propagated to advance their imaginary nation which excluded what the white settlers had brought to Zimbabwe. The Great Zimbabwe ruins became the symbol of national pride and eventually the name of the country (Bull-Christiansen, 2004; Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009). Table 2.5 below shows the identity binaries in pre-independence Rhodesia.

**Table 2.5 Identity binaries in Rhodesia before independence**

| White terms | Non-white Terms |
|---|---|
| **Formal White** | None lacked power to define |
| British | |
| European | |
| UK Rhodesian | |
| Settler | |
| White | |
| White Rhodesian | |
| **Informal White terms** | |
| Rhodies | |
| Baas | |
| Boer (Afrikaans) | |
| **Non-white Population** | |
| **Formal Non-White** | |
| Native | |
| Black | |
| Asian | |
| Coloured | |
| Black Rhodesian | |
| **Informal Non-White** | |
| Kaffir | Native |
| Bobejaan (Afrikaans) | Black, Asian, 'Coloured.' |
| Boy/ girl | Black Rhodesian |

**Source:** Developed by author (2020)

### 2.3.2 Post-Independence Identities

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) suggested that Zimbabwean identity:

> *'... was a construction not only moulded out of pre-colonial, colonial and nationalists' pasts but also out of global values of sovereignty, self-determination and territorial integrity. It is an idea born out of a continuing synthesis of multi-layered, overlapping and cross-pollinating historical genealogies, and contending nationalism, as well as suppressed local and regional sovereignties'* (p. 46).

Zimbabwean identity is mixed with many historical and cultural underpinnings including experiences of pain and struggle. Zimbabwean identity today must acknowledge the combination of colonialism and nationalist ideas in the construction of Zimbabwean nationhood. Along with the post-independence shared interests and reconciliation policies, several questions arise around the complexities involving the diversity of ethnic groups; the legacy of racism, political affiliations, racial inequality in the socio-economic regime and the war of liberation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009; Mlambo, 2013).

In the current discourse, the issue of identity in Zimbabwe is politically and tribally influenced. Zimbabwe is still at an infancy stage where colonial systems are still influencing its formation. Nkomo, a leading Pan-Africanist and ZAPU leader was instrumental in finding ways of bringing together different cultures and identities by accepting wider territorial nationalism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2010; Mhlanga, 2013). Nkomo indicated as follows:

> *'The territories of each of the peoples in the land were defined only by custom: their vagueness led to raids and counter-raids in search of cattle, food or women. Now there was no reason should all of us not unite and develop an unquestioned national identity'* (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009, p. xvii)

In this case, Nkomo, as one of the high-ranking nationalists, is seen to be praising the way the borders were created by the settlers. Despite the politicized regions which saw the Ndebeles settled in the Matabeleland region, Shonas in Mashonaland, Manyikas in Manicaland, migration between regions also enabled the mixing of tribes and cultures. Thus, ethnic borders were defined by colonialists along fragile lines which are still problematic in Zimbabwe (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007; Dzimiri et al., 2014).

These complexities created a multi-layered Zimbabwean national identity underpinned with individual differences and yet wrapped in one identity defined by the colonialist's perception of national identity. These differences and their complexities are some of the problems hampering the development of complete Zimbabwean identity. The idea of a single new narrative was strongly pushed by post-independence politicians (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009; Mlambo, 2013). Shortly before independence in 1977, Mugabe began politicising national identity by referring to Zimbabwe as a 'Shona' nation which further caused divisions among people (Bhebhe & Ranger, 2001; Sithole, 2018). Ranger (2010),

> *'assumes the immanence of a Zimbabwean nation expressed through centuries of Shona resistance to external intrusion; embodied in successive empires; incarnated through the great spirit in the First Chimurenga of 1896-7; and re-incarnated by means of alliance between mediums and ZANLA guerrillas in the second Chimurenga of the liberation'* (Ranger, 2010, p. 505).

Ranger showed that the Shona people had adopted symbols that support their quest for making Zimbabwe a Shona nation (Ranger, 2010). This Shona emphasis within a wider Zimbabwean identity has brought instability in the country which still exists after 40 years of independence.

### 2.3.3 Contested Consumption in Zimbabwe

#### 2.3.3.1 A racialized consumer culture

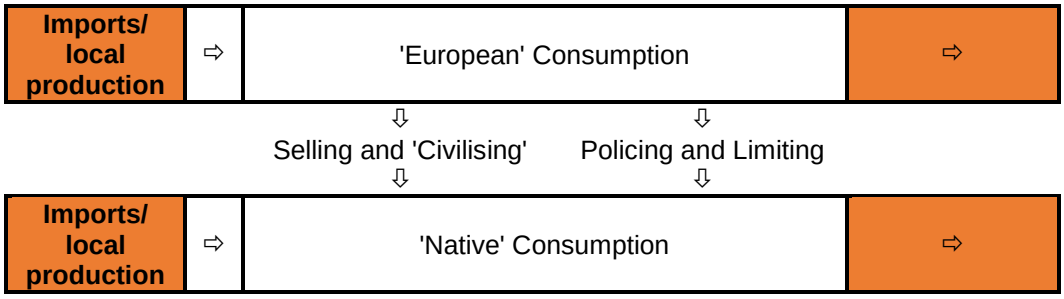
Consumer culture theorists suggest that consumption is structured by the economy, state, family, society and community. These institutions create informal and sometimes formal rules that structure peoples' consumption (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; 2018). In the case of Zimbabwe, consumption patterns have developed in relation to colonialism and post-independence identity projects.

As colonisation progressed, commerce grew but it was reserved initially for the colonialists and Asian migrants (Kosmin, 1975; Burke, 1996; Belk, 2000; Musoni, 2017). The colonialists established separate consumption patterns. Initially, products were shipped from the UK and South Africa before the establishment of production in Zimbabwe. The colonialists perceived traditional native consumption as 'uncivilised' while referring to their own consumption patterns as 'civilised'. The history of the development of colonial consumer culture in Zimbabwe can be traced in memoir accounts like Parkyn's (2012) book, *Roses under the Miombo Trees 'An English Girl in Rhodesia'*, Timothy Burke's historical study – *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe (1996*) and Kosmin's *Freedom. justice and commerce: some factors affecting Asian trading patterns in Southern Rhodesia, 1897-1942.*

Burke (1996) in particular shows how consumption patterns were racialised. The natives adopted the 'Europeanised' consumption of products through commerce. These were products that were imported in the early years of colonisation and later some were produced locally when a degree of industrialisation began to flourish in Zimbabwe (Kosmin, 1975; Ustuner & Holt, 2010). However, the consumption of these

products was heavily controlled to the extent of a racialised policing of consumption (Burke, 1996). Figure 2.5 below illustrates the movement of European consumption to natives under the disguise of civilising them.

**Figure 2.5: The shifting of European consumption to natives**




**Source:** Developed by author (2020) with information from Kosmin, 1975; Burke, 1996.

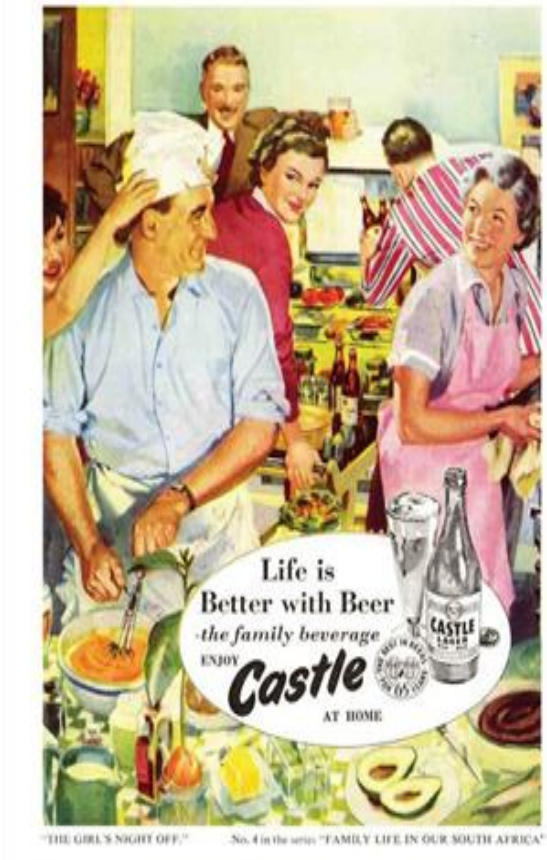
These racialized consumption patterns implied that 'Zimbabwean' natives had separate products for their consumption which were different from their European counterparts. The white government-imposed legislation stopped natives from consuming goods meant for 'whites' (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007; Burke, 1996; Parkyn, 2012). Belk (2000) described the situation as follows:

> *'Housing, recreational and sports facilities, and medical care were other areas of consumption to which blacks had limited and restricted access under colonialism. The small percent of the population that was white lived in white suburbs, patronized white clubs, ate at white restaurants, stayed at white hotels, were educated at largely white schools and universities, and enjoyed white sports such as cricket, rugby, golf, tennis, and lawn bowling'* (Belk, 2000, p. 3).

Differentiating consumption patterns created distance between the colonizer and the colonized eventually forming racialized identities along consumption lines. A sense of white consumption can be seen in the advertising images of the period before independence. Figure 2.6a shows what looks like a white family gathering. The

avocado pears in the pictures are products found everywhere in Zimbabwe, there are European products and boerwores (boerewores is Afrikans language, meaning ‘‘farmers sausages’’ in English) which were adopted from South Africa. Figure 2.6b shows men and women dressed in European style for dining while consuming Castle beer which was also imported from South Africa. The striking parts of these images are the coming together of different foods and consumption cultures and the representation of white identity in Zimbabwe.

**Figure 2.6: White Food Consumption Identity (1950’s & 1960’s)**

| Figure 2.6a | Figure 2.6b |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |

**Source:** 2.6a Magnani (2020), 2.6b (Norris, 2013)

Figure 2.7 below shows the 1970's *Lion lager* brand being portrayed as a true representation of the 'Rhodesian' identity. Being Rhodesian meant being white. The lion, as the king of the jungle, was used here as a metaphor to represent kingship or rulership over the jungle that had been named Rhodesia. The lack of blacks in the image shows that being 'Rhodesian' did not include sharing space and food with other races in Zimbabwe.

**Figure 2.7: Advert for Lion lager – a symbol of White Consumption (1970's)**

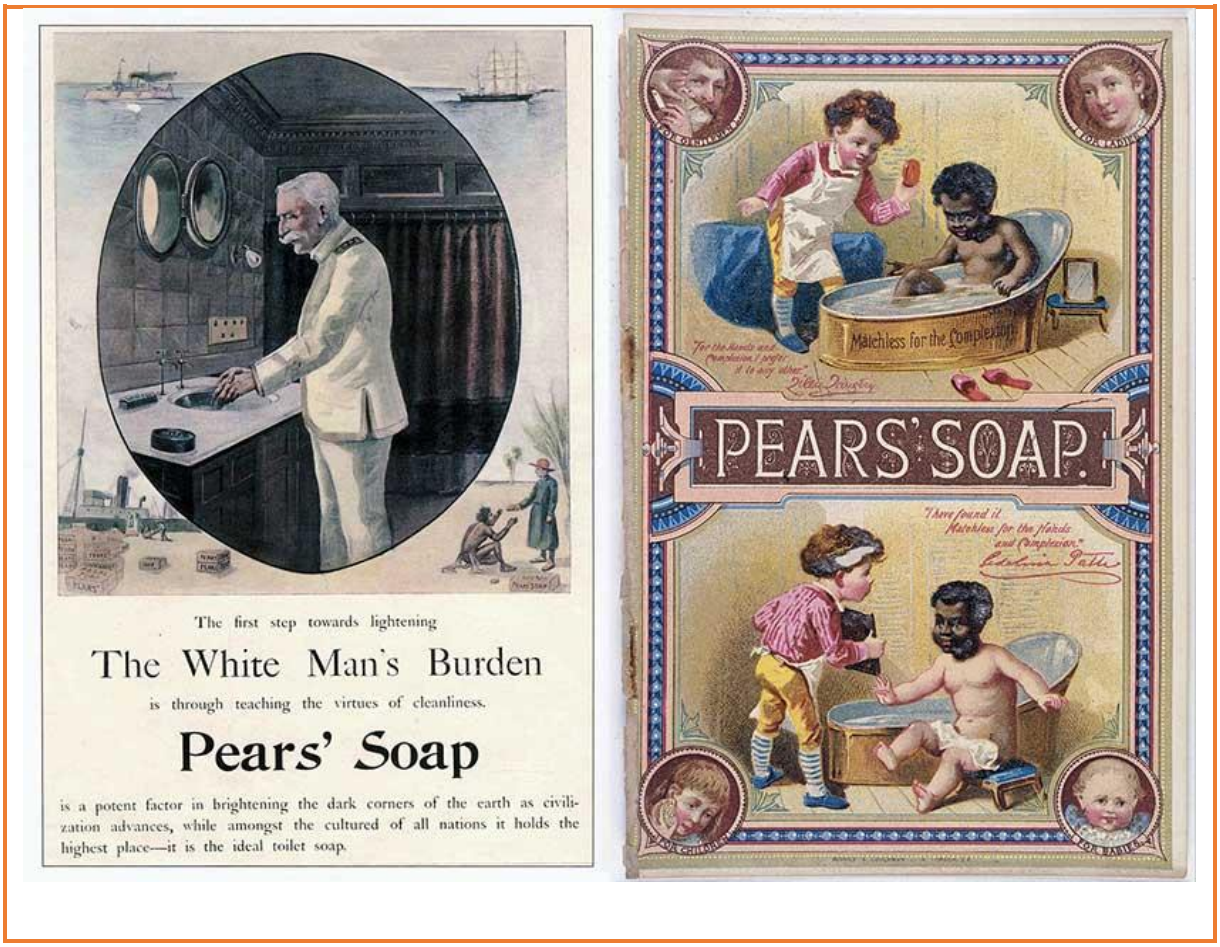

**Source:** Bennett (2020)

The history of black Zimbabwean consumption was the subject of Burke's model study of consumer culture - *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Burke, 1996). Burke argues that the natives were made to accept westernised consumption patterns. He used the example of body hygiene and soap as a product that was embedded in racism and the contradictions of white supremacy. Advertisement was used to perpetuate Western values. It was,

> '*the most important single factor in influencing, particularly … urbanised Bantu, [was] towards the acceptance of at least the outward symbols of … Western civilisation'* (Burke, 1996; 125-126).

During this period, companies marketed their products differently. Some brands, like Lifebuoy and Lux, were meant for white consumers before they were later passed down to natives (Belk, 2000; Parkyn, 2012). However, others such as Sunlight soap became a nearly universal presence in the everyday life of black people (Burke, 1996). Figure 2.8 below shows examples of the racist soap adverts that reigned during the colonial period. In the first image the old white man is used to represent cleanliness and his burden is to clean the black man who is portrayed as a beggar in this image. The second image shows the black child being washed and appearing to be turning white after the bath. The narrative was that blackness was dirty and whiteness was the sign of cleanliness and this had to be taught to the 'uncivilised' black people.

**Figure 2.8 Pears Soap Advertisement (Late 1890's - early 1900's)**




**Source:** Wade (2010)

The white settlers therefore created '*African needs'* which forced the natives to desire European products. 'African needs' were fast-tracked by imposing the Hut tax which was paid in hard currency and labour laws forced the black man to work on the white man's land for them to meet these new demands (Burke; 1996; Belk 2000). In the same vein, women in rural areas became targets for merchants and traders who used 'kaffir trucks' to sell inferior European products to the natives. To accelerate western consumption, traders introduced 'bonsella'. The 'bonsellas' were the extra '*few biscuits or a few sweets*" given for free to the natives rewarding them for buying from the white traders. Besides the 'bonsella', advertising, cash from labour and credit facilities

accelerated European consumption patterns among the natives (Kosmin, 1975; Burke, 1996). Burke argues that the usage of some of the products later changed as the natives adopted these products based on their needs. Advertising firms embarked on understanding the natives. Market research and advertisement became tools of choice for the white colonialists to get their commodities to the black Africans. Also, through market research, they tried to understand some of the complexity of the African culture (Burke, 1996; Belk, 2000, Burke, 2002).

During the liberation war, the nationalists opposed to white rule used the idea of a 'moral' economy. They endeavoured to influence the natives away from 'white' products to consume 'traditional' products. These nationalists attempted to critique the commodity culture that was flourishing as Zimbabweans were working to buy these European products (Burke, 1996; Belk, 2000). They encouraged the support of everything of African nature including customs, names, music, dressing, religion and food. For example, at an NDP (National Democratic Party) meeting attendees removed their ties, shoes and jackets, drank water from African pots and refused to consume Coca Cola soft drinks. These nationalists argued that these commodities were associated with white rule and suppression of blacks. The consumption of one foodstuff in particular - sadza - was encouraged and it was perceived as a symbol of resistance to Europeanised nationalism (Gwekwerere et al., 2018).

### 2.3.4 Post-Independence Consumption

Table 2.6 shows that the basic ethnic -social consumption divisions that have racially divided Zimbabwe.

**Table 2.6 Social basis of segregated consumption patterns in Zimbabwe**

<table>
<tr><th>1890-1914</th><th colspan="2">1914-1945</th><th colspan="2">1945-1980</th><th colspan="2">1980 -</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">White settler population</td><td colspan="2">White settler population</td><td colspan="2">White settler population</td><td>White population</td><td>Black elite</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Asians</td><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Asian population</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Black Rural population</td><td rowspan="2">Black rural</td><td rowspan="2">Black urban</td><td colspan="2">Black professionals</td><td colspan="2">Black professionals</td></tr>
<tr><td>black rural</td><td>black urban/</td><td>black rural</td><td>black urban</td></tr>
</table>

**Source:** Developed by Author (2020) from Kosmin, 197; Burke (1996) and Belk (2000)

Between 1890 to 1914, there were two types of consumption based on race. The black internal migration had black consumers divided into two distinct groups with the cities and the rural areas having different needs. By 1980, there were at least four types of black consumer groups with the black elite, the black professionals with some black urban dwellers consuming similar products as the white settlers. The white consumer group occupied the top layer while the Asians who arrived from India were relegated to the second place on the consumption ladder but were not policed in the way the black natives were treated (Kosmin, 1975; Burke, 1996; Musoni, 2017).

After Zimbabwean independence in 1980, a new group of elite and wealthy black people aspired to the adoption of white consumption patterns. These nouveaux riches of the new Zimbabwe redefined their identity through consumption. Other individuals from the elite middle class imported goods from Britain and America as their income increased after assuming jobs once meant for whites. These black elites bought

houses in former colonialists', and exclusive 'low density' suburbs once forbidden to blacks, who lived in townships, now known as 'high density' suburbs (Belk 2000). This social mobility of living in former white neighbourhoods was considered an epitome of success. Those living in Harare's northern suburbs were referred to as '*masalads*' (people who eat salads) or '*nose brigades'* (speaking English through the nose like white people). Middle-class professionals regarded education as a tool for social advancement and they maintained and perpetuated it as was in the late colonial period (McGregor, 2008; Zembe, 2018).

In post-independence Zimbabwe, the black elite with people such as Grace (Gucci Grace) Mugabe, the wife of the late former Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe who died on the 6th of September 2019; Philip Chiyangwa; Genious Kadungure and other black professionals became notorious for consuming expensive branded products.

Commercialisation was seen in the supermarkets too throughout the country. These were now stocked with foods manufactured in Zimbabwe and some imported from other countries. Television adverts were no longer run on racist lines, food courts such as Eastgate, Westgate, Fantasy land were built in some cities around the country. Expensive hotels which were once for whites only could now be occupied by black professionals, black elite and the small remaining whites as their patrons (Belk, 2000).

Local brands like Pizza Inn, Pizza Slice, Chicken Inn, and Creamy Inn were started in Zimbabwe after independence by some Greek owners and black Zimbawean entrepreneurs. Food chains including Nando's, Steers, Mugg, St Elmos, K.F.C and Pizza Hut were some of the brands that came from South Africa and America and became fully operational in Zimbabwe. The less industrialised people of Zimbabwe

were accepting these products from the more industrialized economies (Kosmin, 1975; Belk, 2000; Ustuner & Holt, 2010).

#### 2.3.4.1 Food in the Zimbabwean 'Consumption scape'

The traditional sadza remains the food for the black people even in a more sophisticated urban form. Sadza is cooked using maize, finger millet, millet and sorghum. Sadza is eaten by almost everyone in Zimbabwe. Meat is a delicacy in Zimbabweans. The poor natives rarely eat it due to their dependence on grains. Figure 2.9 below shows the nature of Sadza as eaten in Zimbabwe.

**Figure 2.9: Traditional Zimbabwean food (sadza)**

**Source:** (Kanengoni, 2017)

As time went on, wealthier Zimbabweans did not consume sadza daily. They substituted it with other food items such as rice and spaghetti (Belk, 2000). The black middle class can now have access to these types of foods in public spaces where

there were restrictions before based on affordability. Figure 2.10 shows a full 'Europeanised' breakfast which is no longer reserved for white settlers.

**Figure 2.10: Breakfast Sadza, meat and vegetables**

**Source:** Ayesha (2016)

Figure 2.11 illustrates that food in Zimbabwe has also been commercialised. This food is consumed throughout the urban areas of the country and some of it is being sold around the world to the people in the diaspora.

**Figure 2.11: Commercialisation of Food in Zimbabwe**


**Source:** Zim Tuckshop (2018)

Figures 2.12 shows a food court in Zimbabwe. Chicken Inn and Pizza Inn which are part of the Innscor group of companies founded by white Zimbabweans a few years after independence.

**Figure 2.12 Food Courts in Urban Zimbabwe**


**Source:** Tapfumaneyi (2020)

While Chicken Inn and Pizza Inn started in Zimbabwe, international fast-food chains such as Kentucky Fried Chicken have also entered the market. Figure 2.13 below shows Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second-largest city.

**Figure 2.13 KFC in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe**


**Source:** Sibanda (2018)

Figure 2.14 below shows the food consumed by wealthy Zimbabweans - both blacks and whites. Processed foods, meat and a lot of fruits and vegetables were consumed in later days. This preference for foreign products is also represented by the different wine glasses on the table.

**Figure 2.14: Fine dining at Avondale (Harare) for wealthy Zimbabweans**

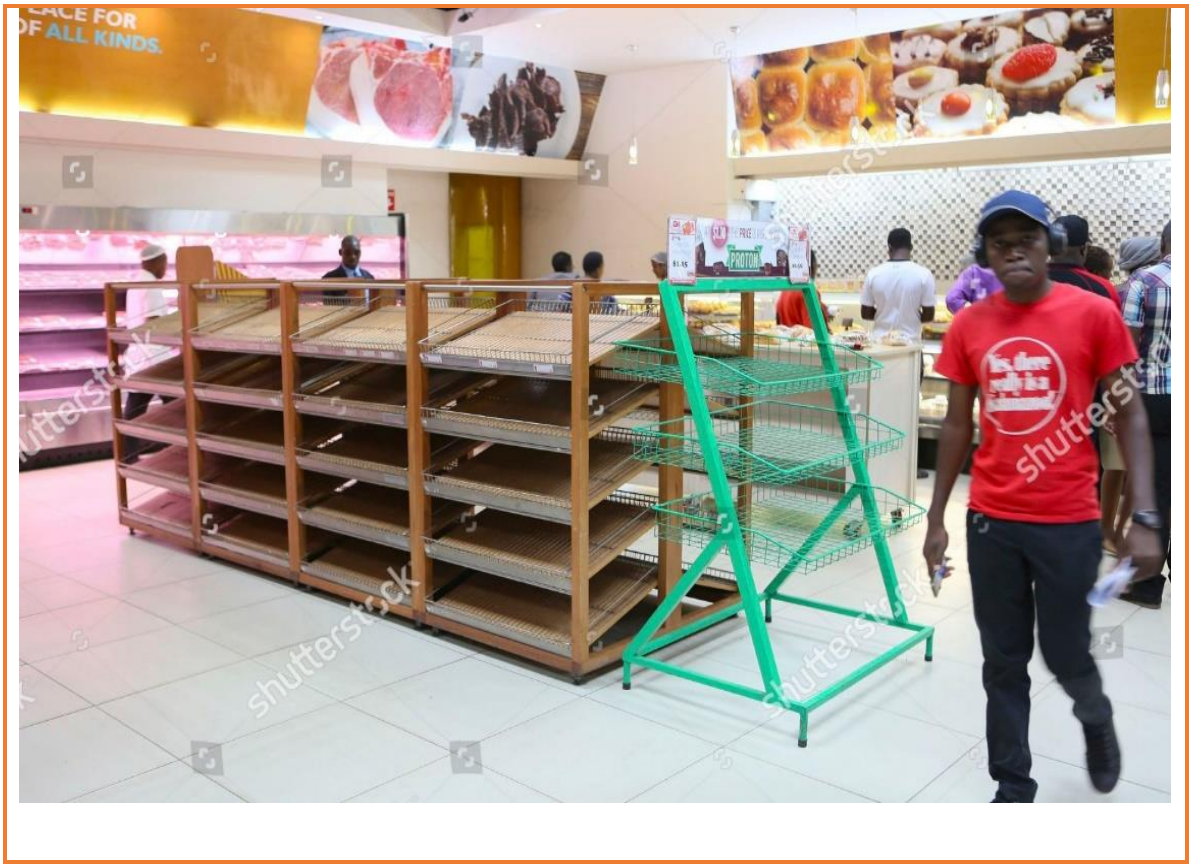
**Source:** Judith (2015)

Their conspicuous consumption of products introduced by the colonialists was intended to mark their status (Belk, 2000; Parkyn, 2012). Belk (2000) captures these patterns, saying:

> *'... daytime beverage consumption has remained anchored in hot tea for almost all informants, but a few have changed to coffee and chicory drinks. Both tea and coffee are grown in Zimbabwe, but tea was the beverage of choice for the former colonialists. Carbonated soft drinks have become more common and have largely replaced less expensive non-carbonated drink concentrates that were mixed with water and served to them when they were growing up. Alcoholic beverages have changed from home-brewed mahewu and "opaque beer" to bottled "clear beer" and stronger alcoholic drinks'* (Belk, 2000, p. 8).

Belk clearly shows that consumption patterns introduced by the settlers has filtered through starting with expensive products being consumed by the elite black consumers. However, this emerging consumption pattern was eventually affected by the economic crises for the mass of the population if not the elite. As the economic crisis grew, food shortages developed for the mass of the population.

**Figure 2.15 Empty shops in Harare, Zimbabwe**




**Source**: Mukwazhi (2018)

The empty supermarket shelves during the economic meltdown show that as the economy went down ordinary Zimbabweans did not have access to either many traditional or western products to consume.

## 2.4 Migration to the United Kingdom

### 2.4.1 Waves of Zimbabwean Migration

After 1980, some white settlers chose to leave Zimbabwe fearing majority-black rule. The political violence coupled with the failing economy were some of the key factors that pushed many Zimbabweans of all races to migrate to other nations (Pasura, 2011; Stoeffler et al., 2016; Chigudu, 2019). Internally the Ndebele migrated too due to Gukurahundi massacre led by the Shona led fifth brigade army (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Ncube & Siziba, 2017; Cameron, 2018). As many as 3-4 million people migrated to neighbouring African countries and others to other Western countries (Pasura, 2011; Chikanda, 2019). Table 2.7 below shows the main phases of migration from Zimbabwe to other destinations and the different groups affected.

**Table 2.7 Patterns of Zimbabwe Migration (1960- present)**

| Phases of migration | Nature of emigrants | Number of emigrants | Destinations |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1960-1979** | Political exiles, labour migrants to SA. | 210,000 | Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana. |
| **1972-1989** | White Zimbabwean | 142,000 | S.A., Britain, Australia, Canada, N.Z. |
| **1982-1987** | Ndebele Migration | 5,000 | Botswana, S.A., and Britain |
| **1990-1998** | Migration of professionals, | 200,000 | S.A., Botswana, Britain, USA, and Australia |
| **1999-Present** | Great Exodus | 3-4 million | S.A., Britain, N.Z., Australia, U.S., Canada |

**Source:** Pasura (2011)

## 2.5 The UK as a destination

### 2.5.1 Zimbabweans on arrival in Britain

The Zimbabwean population in the UK grew from 47,158 in 2001 to an estimated figure of 200,000 in 2008. Their asylum claims rose from 1,700 between 1992- 2001 to 30,300 in 2011 due to the economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe (Humphris, 2010). However, the statistics are controversial. In 2013, the UK Office for National Statistics (ONS) suggested that there were as many as 110,000 Zimbabweans in the UK while community leaders and newspapers suggest that there were up to 500,000 (ONS, 2013). The differences in figures reflect the fact that some individuals arrived in the UK using passports from other countries. Some of the migrants were also not accounted for due to their immigration status which was then not established (Humphries, 2010; Pasura, 2011).

### 2.5.2 The Middle-class professionals

After the introduction of the E.S.A.P (Economic Structural Adjustment Programme) in 1990, the Zimbabwean economy began to implode. Workers frequently went on strike and professionals, including teachers, nurses and doctors, resorted to migration to other countries in search of greener pastures (Pasura, 2012; Crush et al., 2015). The UK government recruited professionals including nurses and teachers from Zimbabwe to work for the National Health Services and education sectors. Subsequently, UK job agencies set up offices in Zimbabwe to recruit these professionals (Mbiba, 2012; Pasura, 2012). de Haas (2019) has discussed extensively about such migration of professionals. These professionals were preferred because they had a high level of English proficiency which made them more employable in the UK. This was due to the type of educational system that was inherited by the Zimbabwean government from the settler regime (Humphris, 2010; Madziva et al., 2016).

Upon migration to the UK, these highly skilled migrants expected to sustain their acquired status and lifestyle as seemingly implied by labour migrant schemes such as the UK Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP) which was designed to attract the excellently skilled employees (Humphris, 2010; Madziva et al., 2016). Various Zimbabwean migration networks were actively involved in the migration process. They provided extensive information about the existence of opportunities in Britain and sometimes funds to individuals to migrate (McGregor, 2006; Thondhlana et al., 2016).

Table 2.8 below shows the regional distribution of Zimbabweans who were originally born in Zimbabwean but currently live in the various parts of England and Wales based on the 2011 census. (This is the most detailed data available at the time of writing as the next census is in 2021).

**Table 2.8 Zimbabwean Population in England and Wales 1991-2011**

| Area | All categories: All usual residents | Arrived 1991-2000 | Arrived 2001-2003 | Arrived 2004-2006 | Arrived 2007-2009 | Arrived 2010-2011 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **England and Wales** | 118,348 | 28,206 | 41,303 | 19,052 | 10,622 | 3,440 |
| **England** | 116,042 | 27,776 | 40,551 | 18,696 | 10,397 | 3,364 |
| **North East** | 2,266 | 368 | 932 | 434 | 216 | 57 |
| **North West** | 8,863 | 1,460 | 3,539 | 1,716 | 929 | 227 |
| **Yorkshire and The Humber** | 10,718 | 1,609 | 4,624 | 2,285 | 1,108 | 358 |
| **East Midlands** | 11,711 | 2,415 | 4,704 | 2,081 | 989 | 365 |
| **West Midlands** | 12,088 | 2,269 | 5,370 | 2,099 | 1,099 | 399 |
| **East** | 16,136 | 4,304 | 5,770 | 2,390 | 1,378 | 433 |
| **London** | 21,309 | 7,270 | 5,610 | 2,701 | 1,560 | 568 |
| **South East** | 25,479 | 6,399 | 8,013 | 3,935 | 2,451 | 741 |
| **South West** | 7,472 | 1,682 | 1,989 | 1,055 | 667 | 216 |
| **Wales** | 2,306 | 430 | 752 | 356 | 225 | 76 |

**Source:** ONS (2012)

Geographically Zimbabweans are concentrated in London and around its northern commuter towns, in places such as Luton, Milton Keynes, Slough and the South East. Other cities outside London where Zimbabweans have settled are Leeds, Leicester, Manchester, Birmingham and Coventry. The UK asylum system, the availability of health care jobs in coastal areas are the major reasons for the dispersal of Zimbabweans in the UK (Humphris, 2010). This explains the high numbers also in the South-East part of the UK. Socially and economically, these Zimbabwean migrants live and work in circumstances in the UK that contrast sharply. McGregor (2008) states,

> *'... on the one hand [some] have secured professional work or set up their businesses, as well as those who have secured refugee status ... they have a degree of basic stability derived from their rights to residence/work and their incomes, and are in a position to plan careers, mortgages, .... At the other extreme, there are those trapped in unskilled jobs with insecure legal status, many of whom struggle to meet their own basic needs and family obligations and live in fear of deportation'* (p. 466).

This shows that the Zimbabwean migrants have established businesses and many other activities to fit into the new society. To many Zimbabweans, the society they came to live within was and is very different from the one they left in Zimbabwe. Britain is more ethnically diverse; the level of development is far higher and access to goods and services is much easier considering the difficulties they had in Zimbabwe (Humpris, 2010; Pasura, 2011)

### 2.5.3 The Modern UK

#### 2.5.3.1 The Composition of Modern UK

Britain is a multicultural society with people from different countries practising various cultures (Bulmer & Solomons, 2017). Table 2.9 below shows the ethnic composition of England and Wales population based on the 2011 census figures.

**Table 2.9 Population Composition of England and Wales - 2011**

| Ethnicity | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| **White** | 48209395 | 86 |
| Of which White British | 45134686 | 80.5 |
| White Irish | 531,087 | 0.9 |
| White Gypsy/Traveller | 57,680 | 0.1 |
| **Asian** | 4,213,531 | 7.5 |
| Of which Bangladeshi | 447,201 | 0.8 |
| Chinese | 393,141 | 0.7 |
| Indian | 1,412,958 | 2.5 |
| Pakistani | 1,124,511 | 2 |
| Asian other | 835,720 | 1.5 |
| **Black** | 1,864,890 | 3.3 |
| Of which Black African | 989,628 | 1.8 |
| Black Caribbean | 594,825 | 1.1 |
| Black other | 280,437 | 0.5 |
| **Mixed** | 1,224,400 | 2.2 |
| Of which Mixed White/Asian | 341,727 | 0.6 |
| Mixed White/Black African | 165,974 | 0.3 |
| Mixed White/Black Caribbean | 426,715 | 0.8 |
| Mixed other | 289,984 | 0.5 |
| Other | 563,696 | 1 |
| Arab | 230,600 | 0.4 |
| Others | 333,096 | 0.6 |
| Total | 56,075,912 | 100 |

**Source:** ONS (2012)

The concept of ethnic identity is as problematic in the UK as it is in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. In their 2012 '*The New Cultures of Food'*, Lindgreen and Hingley brought together a number of authors to discuss food 'marketing opportunities from ethnic, religious and cultural diversity'. In this book Beer indicated the various ethnic groups

in the UK. Table 2.10 below illustrates how the ONS confusingly categorises individuals in table 2.10 above in six different ways.

**Table 2.10 ONS categories of migrants**

| Ethnicity Marker | Example |
|---|---|
| **Skin Colour** | Black/ White/ Mixed? |
| **Region / Regionless** | Traveller/ Asia/ Africa/ Caribbean |
| **Countries** | British/ Bangladeshi/ Chinese/ India/ Pakistani |
| **Indeterminate** | Arab |
| **Mixed/ Hybridity (colour/ region)** | Mixed White/ Asian/ Mixed White/ Black African/ Mixed White/ Black Caribbean/ Mixed other |
| **Other** | Indeterminate |

**Source:** Compiled by the author (2020) from ONS (2012) and Beer (2009)

Table 2.10 also shows that the number of the Africans in Britain has risen overtaking the Caribbean migrant population since the Windrush generation began to arrive after World War 2 in 1948 (Wardle & Obermuller, 2018). The narrative of the black migrant population in Britain has been of the people of Caribbean descent (Hall, 2017). Paul Gilroy's (1993) *'The Black Atlantic;* Gilroy's (2013) '*There aint no black in the Union Jack';* Phillips & Phillips (1998) *'Windrush; the Irresistible Rise of Multi-racial Britain'* Stuart Hall's (2017) *'Familiar stranger: A life between two islands'* have extensively discussed issues about the West Indians in Britain. The shift in numbers of the black migrant population towards the black 'Africans' has not yet been fully reflected in literature (Zeleza, 2005; 2008; 2010). This allows African migration research, including that of the black Zimbabwean inbetweeners, to address a research gap in the African diaspora.

### 2.5.3.2 Identity Conflicts in the UK

The modern UK was created by the expansion of England leading to the formation of the Union of four countries (England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland) (McCorkindale, 2016; Keating, 2019) and it grew into an Empire that was to rule many countries around the world (Skey, 2012). Table 2.11 below sets out the main stages in the formation of Modern Britain as well as how it became divided.

**Table 2.11 The Formation of Modern Britain**

| **The Unification of the UK** | | |
|---|---|---|
| Union England and Wales | 1536 | |
| Union with Scotland | 1707 | |
| Union with Ireland | 1801 | |
| The Break-Up of the UK? | | |
| Ireland | Irish war of independence 1919-21.<br>1921-22 Irish civil war | Southern Ireland becomes independent, Northern Ireland stays as part of the U.K. |
| Membership EU | 1973<br>1975 first referendum on E.U membership. | |
| Devolution | 1997 referendum on Scottish and Welsh parliaments<br>1999 | Scottish Parliament, Welsh Parliament |
| Scottish Independence referendum | 2014 | Vote 55: 45 to reject independence. |
| E.U Brexit | 2016 referendum | Calls for leaving the E.U. |
| Brexit | 2020 | Brexit |

**Source**: Developed by author (2020) from McCorkindale (2016) and Keating (2019)

Defining a British identity is not an easy task. Over time, 'Britishness' has been defined against religious, economic and then national 'others' (McGlynn & Mycock, 2010; Skey, 2012; Keddie, 2014). *'Britishness*' is an idea that seems to be sustained sometimes through imperial and *English* mythologies for rhetorical purposes. The demise of the British Empire due to decolonisation and multiculturalism due to

increased migration and the integration of European nations all contributed to the complexities around a British/UK identity (Cohen, 2000; Keddie, 2014). Nairn's (2003) book on *The Break-up of Britain: Crises and Neo-Nationalism* captured one part of this political conflict and the desires for many to see the Union constitutionally break up. Major changes have occurred over the years involving the devolution of power to Ireland, Scotland and Wales affecting the strength of the Union and the associated identities (Pearce, 2017). Some Scottish nationalists strongly deny any British identity. They argue that because the English make up about 80 per cent of the population in the UK, they have been appropriating the cultures. Other nations that make up the current composition of Britain see British-English identity as enraging and frustrating (Cohen, 2000). Thus, citizenship identity continues to be political and contested. Another layer of complexity has been the issue of European Union citizenship. The Brexit vote has involved a tense debate about pluralism in culture, nationalism and citizenship (Hames, 2015; Ashcroft & Bevir, 2016).

The future Prime Minister Gordon Brown in 2005 attempted to rally 'the nation' behind one UK identity in a politically charged speech that seems to have been related to a perceived demise of the UK identity (McGlynn & Mycock, 2010; Bechhofer & McCrone, 2014; Hames, 2015). Brown said that,

> *'Ideas that are not unique to the UK culture - indeed all the cultures value liberty, responsibility and fairness - but when taken together, charted through our history, are at the heart of modern Britishness, central elements of a modern and profoundly practical patriotism: the surest way in which our nation can succeed economically and socially ...'* (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2007 p. 251).

This shows an attempt by a future leader was willing to unite the UK using at times political symbols to construct an imagined nation of the UK. Britishness is therefore

associated with contested and contradictory meanings (Owen, 2013). Hopkins (2008) argues that the confusion also impacts on the minority ethnic groups. van Djik (2015) also argues that:

> *'Historically, one major characteristic selected as the basis for the categorisation and negative evaluation of non-western peoples has been perceived differences of bodily appearance, primarily skin colour'* (p. 25).

This indicates that external individual features have been used to draw distinctions between Westerners and non-Westerners leading to inequalities. The inequalities that exist in Britain reflect an underlying racism and discrimination that can affect the ethnic minorities in all different aspects of their lives (Van Djik, 2015; Bloch & Hirsch, 2018). Gilroy (2013) in his major account of the black experience in the UK, points out that in the UK there is racial subordination which shapes black people's choices and that black people are portrayed as aliens who should not be accorded power.

One response to such exclusion has been the imposition of policies by the UK government on integration, community cohesion and discrimination laws (Saggar et. al.,2012; Saggar & Somerville, 2012). The establishment of community cohesion was supposed to alleviate these differences in the community and manage diversity and integration into UK identity (Worley, 2006). Ashcroft & Bevir (2016) have argued that the formalisation of UK citizenship is another marker of UK identity and this is now a process that migrants must go through. The citizenship test was introduced in 2002 and it is there to test the migrants' language proficiency and knowledge of the UK way of life. Table 2.12 below shows the different stages of acquiring UK citizenship for migrants.

**Table 2.12 UK Citizenship identity acquisition process**

| Stages | Identity markers pre-requisites |
|---|---|
| Stage 1 | Time spent in the U.K. |
| Stage 2 2002 | Time spent in the U.K and citizenship test introduced in 2002. |
| Stage 3 | Time spent in the U.K, citizenship test and naturalization ceremony. |
| Stage 4 | Time spent in the U.K, citizenship test, a naturalisation ceremony and UK passport acquisition. |

**Source:** UKBA (2019)

Due to recent concerns about immigration, community cohesion and Brexit, UK politicians and policymakers have also found it necessary to promote British values in schools. They underpinned the schools' curriculum with citizenship education to instil intrinsic values of being able to understand and participate effectively in British democratic decision making including participating in the community (Andrews & Mycock, 2008). The teaching of Britishness emerged as something significant in politics. The 'long-standing' 'British' values such as 'tolerance', 'decency' and 'fair play' are now found to be in citizenship education in schools (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017). In this way van Djik (2015) suggests that:

> *'the ethnic minority groups are systematically subjected to societal arrangements and practices that, at least for the group as a whole, are the implementation of a less powerful social, political, economic and cultural position than that of white Europeans'* (p. 28).

This shows that the ethnic minorities are moving into a society that is determined for them. However, ethnic minorities do interact and integrate with other communities in Britain in ways that lead to the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of UK values and culture. While some ethnic minorities seem to be adopting the UK narrative

thereby accepting the UK identity others have resorted to maintaining their ethnic identities (Reynolds, 2006; Lam and Smith, 2009).

### 2.5.6 Britain as an Advanced Consumer Society

UK consumer culture is far more developed compared to that of Zimbabwe. The history of consumer culture in Britain has been shaped by events that began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Pennell, 1999; Bocock, 2008). Modern-day consumption in Britain has been influenced by the growth of the metropolis, cities and the surrounding suburbs. Over the years, cultural, technological, and economic changes have also contributed to the development of a consumer society in Britain (Patsiaouras, 2017).

Prevalent in these consumption environments are anxious individuals influenced by different styles and symbolic consumptions of particular social groups including their personal preferences (Jagel et al., 2012). Baudrillard, (2016) argued that in advanced consumer societies like Britain:

> *'[ju]st as medieval society was balanced on God and the Devil, so ours is balanced on consumption and its denunciation'* (p. ix).

Consumer culture is about goods and their meanings (Arnould & Thompson, 2018), media operators and sellers have developed targeted advertising using occupational classes and income levels as segmentation variables (McCracken, 1986; Akaka & Alden, 2010).

Yet the UK is also a global player *influencing* cultural changes across the world and *absorbing* changes by utilizing emigration and immigration. Even though the British Empire might have collapsed traces of the English language as the first world global

lingua franca remain evidenced by the many countries that still use this language as a means of communication at all levels (Crystal, 2012). Immigration has also contributed to changes in UK consumption patterns as foreign nationals bring their cultures to the UK as they settle among the local communities. One of the many factors contributing to the growth of these cultural exchanges is the establishment of ethnic businesses as they attempt to serve their communities with shopping experiences from their native countries. In this case, UK society consumes the 'other' as they engage and consume diverse cultures from former colonies and other migrants that have settled in Britain (Zukin et al., 2015).

### 2.7 Food Consumption and 'consumptionscapes' in Britain

Britain is a developed nation where consumption data has been collected for decades. These data are much more precise in establishing the development of UK consumption patterns in general and the specific food consumption patterns for migrants. A good example is that of *The National Food Survey* which was established in 1940 and closed in 2000. It was the longest-running continuous household food consumption survey.

Income is an important factor when explaining food intake for the people in Britain the rise in income levels transformed the type of food people consume and the places in which they consumed these foods (Foster and Lunn, 2007; DEFRA, 2015). Incomes also increased for many households because more women moved into full and part-time work.

The development of technology and the establishment of centralised industrial production has also been linked to the changes in peoples' food habits in the UK. White products such as fridges, freezers and microwaves became available for people

to buy with their increased incomes. Food industries developed new products that suited to these new technologies (Foster and Lunn, 2007; Jackson et al., 2018). As technology changes, consumers also change by upgrading the types of foods they consume.

Many people too can now afford travelling abroad for holidays. On these trips, they learn about new foods which they attempt replicate in their own homes. The popularity of world cuisines in the UK has had a major impact on the food people cook at home. Varieties of foods from around the world are now easily available throughout the year (Jamal, 2003; Buckley, Cowan, & McCarthy, 2007; Long, 2017).

Ethnic cuisines also found their way to peoples' tables in the UK as people begin to bring their ethnic restaurant experiences into their homes. Some migrants have established ethnic businesses. These include ethnic restaurants, ethnic supermarkets and ethnic food wholesalers which sell various kinds of ethnic foods to local traditional English supermarkets. These ethnic supermarkets and wholesalers' businesses cater for migrants', but they are also satisfying demand coming from 'British' consumers who eventually make their imitations in their homes. These retailers also operate extended hours by increasing the accessibility of these foods to locals (Leung, 2010; Hall, 2011).

Blythman, (2013) has argued that people in Britain have become more conscious of the food they consume. Food obsessions have been influenced by television shows such as the *Bake Off* shown on BBC, celebrity T.V chef, magazines, cookery books, internet and social media (Rousseau, 2013). Thus, Ashley et al., (2004) suggest that:

> '*The relationship between television and cookery in the UK has been partly shaped by the public ethos which has structured the historical development of UK broadcasting - to inform, educate and entertain*' (p. 173).

This shows the role television as a tool has been and is still used to inform and change society like the UK including food patterns. Some individuals are now conscious of the food they eat making sure they stay healthy. However general food consumption in UK homes contrasts with food consciousness. The change in income has increased consumers' consumption of convenience foods and the purchase of devices that reduce their food preparation times and less labour-intensive food processes. The changes have affected food consumption patterns in some homes as may now eat out or settle for convenience foods - removing the traditional family mealtimes. Because of changes in lifestyles, convenience foods make up a large part of the consumer grocery market in Britain. The settling on convenience foods by the UK consumers has enabled them to save time and effort in shopping, preparing and cooking food and post-meal activities. There are also smaller households where people live alone and their demand is for foods that do not require preparation time (Buckley et al., 2007; Barska, 2018). Some families in Britain have become solitary eaters and some households have also resorted to 'snacking' and consuming ready-made meals (Ashley, et al., 2004; Blythman, 2013).

In the twenty-first century in the UK there have been advances in the way people order food. Online ordering technologies and their ability to enable quick ways of ordering and delivering food to people's homes at a reduced time have become common and popular (Okumus & Bilgihan, 2014; Kapoor & Vij, 2018). Nowadays, people are surrounded by a variety of choices such as takeaways, fast foods, and processed ready-made meals. These changes have led to a fragmented market, diverse and more or less sophisticated customers whose lifestyles increase convenience shopping for food, eating out of home as well as a growing interest in food provenance. The changes also reflect the growth of foreign cuisines, multiculturalism and peoples'

willingness to experiment with new foods (Jamal, 1996; Panayi, 2008) ranging from as far as Bangladesh (Pottier, 2014), Indian curry which is acclaimed as a British National Dish (Crick et al., 2016).

### 2.8 Eating Out

Eating out now happens at all income levels but it is those with high incomes that tend to eat out more compared to individuals with low incomes (Mintel, 2019). There is an indication that this market had not been slowing down as peoples' lifestyle changes and new foods emerged. Changing family structures, busy lifestyles, values and norms, the multicultural society have resulted in changes in food consumption patterns (Ashley et al., 2004; Yates and Warde, 2017). As people are constantly on the go, they have resorted to 'grazing' to manage their food preparation times (Warde & Hetherington, 1994; Buckley et al., 2007; Warde & Yates, 2017). These developments have undermined the traditional family meals where family members sit around the dining table to eat (Murcott, 1997; Foster & Lunn, 2007).

People eat-out for various reasons including experiencing new foods; breaking away from the daily chores associated with the preparation, cooking and serving of food. For others, it is a matter of eating in a new environment at different times with friends, acquaintances and strangers. Other people choose eating-out as a platform where they socialise with family and friends (Warde & Martens, 2000; Burnett, 2004; Edwards, 2013).

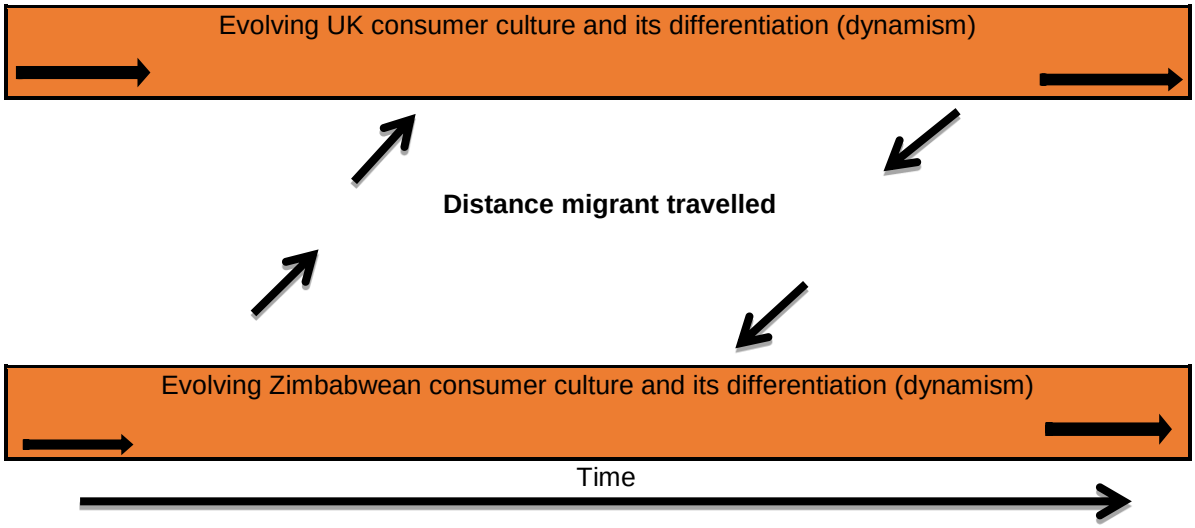
The ethnic restaurant and the takeaway market were worth over £12.6 billion in the year ending 2019 (Mintel, 2020). Ethnic restaurants and fast-food takeaways once catered for migrant communities but this has since changed as many in the population

have adopted some of these new foods in their consumption patterns (Jamal, 2003; Panayi, 2008).

### 2.9 Migration and consumption: Distance, Dynamism and Differentiation

Figure 2.16 below shows a simple representation of how migrants move between cultures. It points to the three aspects that are central to the discussion of this chapter and the thesis as a whole – distance, dynamism and differentiation.

**Figure 2.16: Migrant Journeys and consumption**




**Source:** Composed by the author (2018)

*Distance* is about the physical journey they had to travel. Table 2.13 below shows the different types of geographical distance between Zimbabwe and the UK.

**Table 2.13: Distances travelled by migrants**

| Changes | Distance |
|---|---|
| **Zimbabwe- U.K.** | 5, 158. 84 miles |
| **Flight time** | 11hours and 30 minutes |
| **Change of Continents** | Africa to Europe |
| **Change of hemispheres** | Southern to Northern |

**Source**: Composed by the author (2019)

Distance is also a social, economic, political and cultural concept. Table 2.14 below contrasts the UK and Zimbabwe at the start of the twenty-first century as the inbetweeners migrated to the UK. As a former UK colony, Zimbabwe was underdeveloped in many areas. Politically, there was an authoritarian rule. The UK had a much longer history as a nation, and this is evident in its high level of development.

**Table 2.14 Development Contrasts between Zimbabwe and the UK c2010**

| | Zimbabwe | UK |
|---|---|---|
| Nature of State | Ex-UK colony | Great Power, the former empire |
| Political Form | Authoritarian | Parliamentary democracy |
| Length of history as state/nation | Since 1890 but contested | Several hundred years depending on definitions |
| Level of development | Very low | High |
| Level urbanisation | 32.2% of total population | 83.9% of the population live in urban areas |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Standard of living | GDP per capita<br><br>$2, 300 | GDP per capita<br><br>$44, 300 |
| Consumption Culture | Very slow | Fast changing |
| Media development | Government owns TV and radio stations. Satellite available to people with receivers. TV broadcast is limited. Digital service unavailable<br><br>Internet users 23.1% of population | Highly developed: BBC is the world's largest broadcaster. Public and commercial cable stations.<br><br>Internet- 94.8% of population |
| Literacy | Highly developed | Highly developed |

**Source:** C.I.A, Zimbabwe (2019) and C.I.A, United Kingdom (2019)

The second element pointed out in Figure 2.16 is *dynamism*. Migrants move between two dynamic situations. No society stands still, or at least not for very long, and nowhere is this truer than when it comes to consumption. Migrants can never return to the Zimbabwe they left because that country is continually changing. Even if they choose to return to their home country, they will find that the consumption culture including food patterns changed from the one they left when they emigrated. While they are daily surrounded by the consumption culture of the new society– their perception of that of their past will therefore be formed in part by *memory* and *nostalgia*.

Figure 2.14 also points to a third element – *differentiation.* In Zimbabwe, the identities that people tend to associate with are ethnic, racial or even status-based. The inbetweener migrants then moved from a modestly differentiated Zimbabwean society to a highly differentiated UK society where they find themselves with many ways of creating and recreating their identities. This differentiation happens partly around consumer culture and the many choices available to individuals to negotiate their

multiple identities. Thus, the more advanced the society, the greater the choices of identity for the people.

### 2.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has given some background on Zimbabwe and provided a discussion on the dynamism in consumer culture experienced by the black Zimbabwean inbetweeners. The chapter traced the consumption patterns of the inbetweeners from their home country to the UK and the changes that have occurred during their migration. The chapter highlighted the influence of colonialism in shaping the Zimbabwe consumer culture which was underpinned with racist undertones e.g. through advertising and media. In the UK there are a wider variety of consumption choices which can be used by people to construct their identities. Migrants move between two different sets of consumer cultures that are constantly evolving and differentiating internally. The comparative levels of differentiation are illustrated in the way Britain has developed more than Zimbabwe which is still going through the early phases of development.

The next chapter looks at some of the key aspects of the debates on the formation of identity of migrants.

# CHAPTER THREE: IDENTITY AND FOOD CONSUMPTION

## 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a discussion of the contextual issues relating to Zimbabwe, the UK, the migration of the inbetweeners from Zimbabwe to the United Kingdom and food consumption. This chapter aims to provide a review of the relevant literature on the concept of identity, national identity, consumer culture theory, migration and diaspora, memory and nostalgia and the food experience. The logic of this approach is to show the connections between different concepts and theories in the formation of food-related identities for ethnic migrants.

**Figure 3.1 Structure of the Identity Literature**

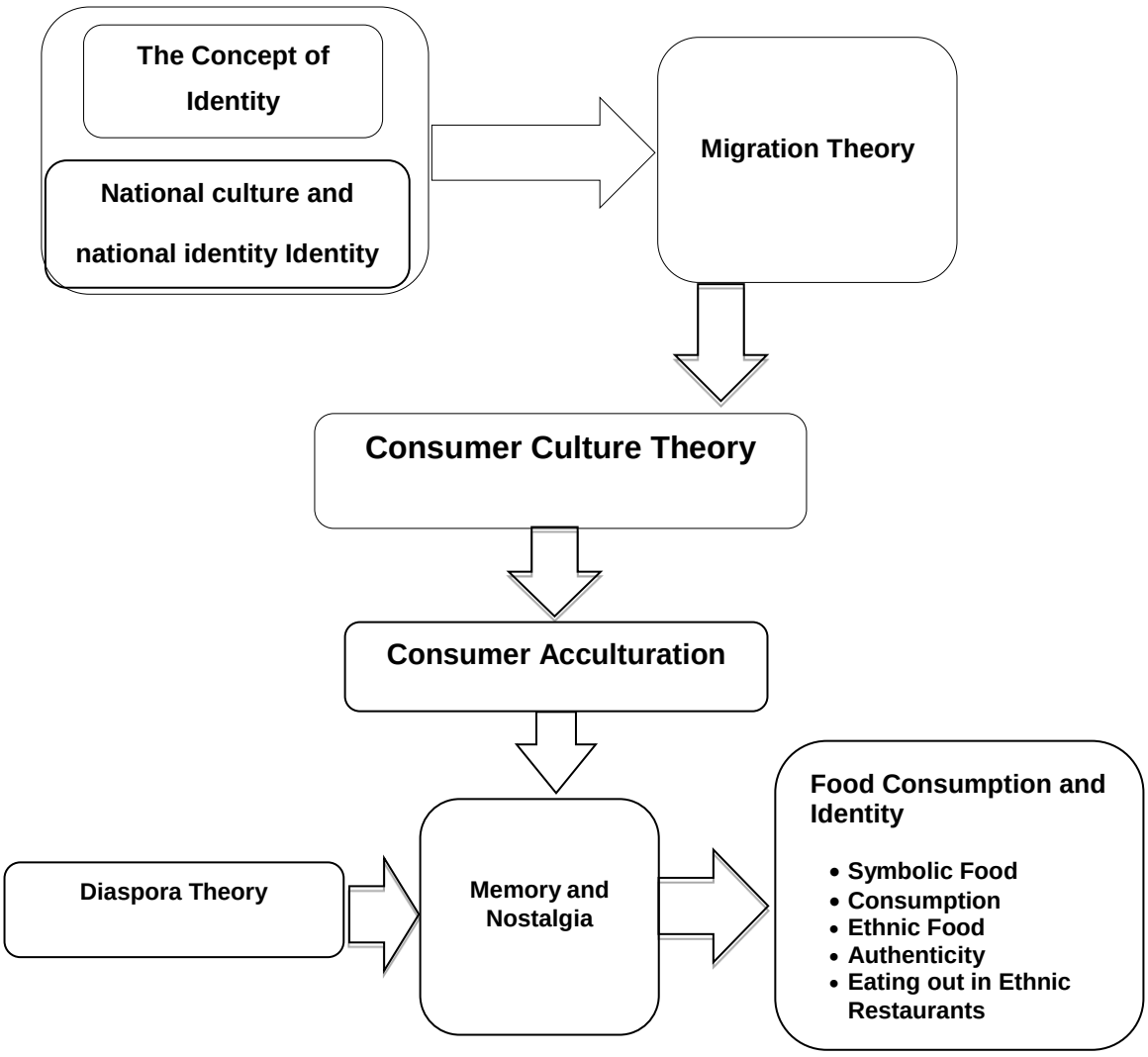


Figure 3.1 sets out the concepts underpinning this thesis: those of identity, national culture, migration theory, consumer culture theory, consumer acculturation, diaspora theory, memory and nostalgia, food consumption and identity.

The first concept of identity explores the understanding that people have multiple identities which are relational. The national culture literature is critically reviewed as it informs the formation of national identity. The concept of national identity is explored and critiqued in the context that it is assumed by many researchers that all people in a 'nation' have similar national experiences (Anderson, 1983).

Migration theory explores the reasons for people to migrate to other countries. This gives a picture of how this migration may affect their perception of their country of origin. Consumer culture theory enables the understanding of why, when these migrants move, they begin to realise their differences and their need to us consumption to construct their identity (Hall, 2017). This section explores the literature on how people shape their identity projects by consuming the products they find on the marketplace albeit not passively (Askegaard, et al., 2005; Arnould and Thompson, 2018).

The fourth key concept reviewed in the literature is consumer acculturation. When these migrants settle in other countries they embark on a journey where they learn new consumption skills from other cultures (Penaolza, 1994; Luedicke, 2015). They share their lived experiences too with other communities (Dey et al., 2019). This learning has outcomes that are impacted by their time spent in the new host country.

The fifth concept to be explored is that of diaspora theory. The outcomes of their consumer acculturation enable migrants to create diaspora communities which manifest through consumption patterns in a new country or, in some cases, they may

lead to the disappearance of their diaspora community (Safran, 2007). Migrants may use their consumption skills to maintain connection with their “homeland” whilst they live in a new country making them a distinct group (Armstrong, 1976; Safran, 2005).

The sixth concept explored is the role of memory - nostalgia on the migrants. These form the psychological aspect of the way migrants maintain their connection with their lived experiences. Migrants can support their memories of their homeland experiences with nostalgic consumption to strengthen their diaspora links. Their nostalgic experiences are then consumed in the marketplace to establish their diasporic identity according to consumer culture theory (Holbrook and Schindler, 1999; Holbrook, 1993; Cui, 2015).

The final concept is that of food consumption and identity. This thesis is about food consumption experiences, therefore, it builds on how memory and nostalgic experiences influence food patterns and identity. These are the banal activities that they use to manifest their identities (Billig,1995; Arnould and Thompson, 2018). The section argues the food is a marker of identity.

### 3.2 The Concept of Identity

The importance of identity is reflected in the many newly published English books with identity in the title. Since 2010, as many as 10,000 books have been written on the concept of identity (Coulmans, 2019). Identity provides a framework that differentiates groups’ and individuals’ behavioural patterns. According to Sokol (2009),

> *“The formation of identity is a major event in the development of persona lity and associates with positive outcomes. Identity provides a deep sense of ideological commitmentand allows the individual to know his or her pl ace in the world. It provides one with a sense of wellbeing, a sense of bei ng at homein one’s body, a sense of direction in one’s life, and a sense of mattering to those who count* (p. 142).

Erik Erikson *"introduced identity as a universal developmental task that provides the foundation for an individual's general sense of well-being*" (Rogers, 2018, p. 284). One foundational strand of identity theory is socio-psychological was introduced by (Erikson 1958). Erickson (1970) states that it is a difficult activity to define the *"nature and position of a thing that is psycho and social"* (p. 731). He suggested the concept of identity is ambiguous because it primarily *"serves to group together a range of phenomena which could profitably be investigated together"*. In his earlier works, Erikson (1958) theory centred on the delineation of the connection between psychology and the social aspect of life (McAdams, 2013; Rogers, 2018). Such arguments have contributed to the view that the social, cultural and environmental are intertwined in an individual's personality (Schachter, 2005). Other researchers have given more attention to the cultural and contextual aspects of identity (Nagel, 1994; Phinney and Goossens, 1996; Else-Quest, 2015) and it is this approach that will guide this thesis.

Typically, identity relates to the nationality, race, gender, class, and the sexuality of a group of people. In its simplest definition, identity informs us about claims of 'sameness' and 'difference'. However, identity is complicated, it can be things that people can explain, but also can be things that can be invoked to explain (Coulmas, 2019).

However, identity essentialism is of the view that

> *'certain categories of people have an underlying reality or true nature that one cannot observe directly… that gives an object its identity and is responsible for other similarities that category members share'* (Appiah, 2018, p.26).

This shows an attempt by these researchers to make identity static. This study, as chapter one indicated, follows the arguments of Appiah (2018) in understanding the identity of individuals and groups from multiple viewpoints. In his book *The Lies that Bind; Rethinking Identity* (2018), Appiah argues that identity can be compared to labels which people apply to themselves and others. Appiah suggests that the identity of individuals is never complete and always comes with contestations. Using the example of his father who was a Methodist, Pan-Africanist, a philosopher, Ghanaian and an Asante as an example, Appiah argues that an individual can have multiple identities. When moving between these identities people resist or choose identities depending on their circumstances. These multiple identities are determined by changing contexts. The world is a place with network points of affinity which create the basis for experiences of multiple identities that differ between individuals (Clifford; 1997; Hall, 2017; Appiah 2018). Kitson too says that:

> '*identities are complex and multiple and grow out of a history of changing responses to economic, political, and cultural forces, almost always in opposition to other identities'* (p. 89).

This shows that there are various factors that shape identity, therefore, the identity becomes contoured. Berger (1979) added that in traditional societies identity is assigned and also taken for granted, but that is no longer the case in the modern context of pluralization and complexity, identity requires choice (Baumeister, 1987) which is made by individuals. Gergen (1991) added that individuals no longer subscribe to an objective and knowable world where identities are clear.

This study is also built on the arguments of Hall (2017) who suggests that identity is dynamic. Hall (2014) argued that cultural identities are viewed in two distinct ways. The first view sees cultural identity as a shared culture, a collective 'one true self' which

is hidden inside many other superficially imposed ‘selves’ albeit with a shared history and ancestry. This gives people static points of reference, making them a collective people ‘*beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our cultural history*’ (Hall, 2014, p. 225).

The second view, which Hall (2017) endorses, and which this thesis builds on, argues that cultural identity is about *becoming* as well as of *being*. Cultural identities emanate from somewhere but are constantly transforming as cultures change (Clifford, 1997). This means that people’s identities are not ‘*eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play of history, culture and power’* (Hall, 2017, p. 225). So, identity is not static but is a result of the individual’s movement in time and space. Through these sequences of life events and experiences, the individual’s identity reflects their journey (Clifford, 1997; Nesteruk, et al., 2015).

### 3.3 National culture

Attempts to define and analyse culture remains controversial. As early as 1951 there were said to be as many as 164 definitions in existence, indicating the complexity of the concept (Spencer-Oatey, and Franklin, 2012). Goodenough (1961) defined culture as the “*standards for deciding what is … what can be … what one feels about it … what to do about it, and … how to go about doing it*” (p. 522). Others see culture as a “collective programming” of peoples’ minds. This enables other people to distinguish between members of one group from another (Hofstede; 1991; Zeyada, 2018). Most importantly, culture becomes the lens they use to judge their world and that of others (Jahoda, 2012). Kroeber & Kluckhohn, (1952) suggested that;

> *"Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action"* (p. 181).

However, Wallerstein (1990) was sceptical, suggesting;

> *"that we can operationalise the concept of culture … in any way that enables us to use it for statements that are trivial*" (p. 34).

Geertz (1973) gave an even richer perspective to the examination of culture. Geertz (1973) posited that the notion of culture is a semiotic one. It is a web spun by humans "*and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning"* (p. 311).

On a nationwide scale, the concept of 'national culture' brings together two controversial and complex concepts; that of 'culture' and 'nations'. These concepts are pulled together to create a 'national identity' of a 'people' (Hofstede, 1991; Schwartz, 1997; McSweeney, 2012). Hofstede (1991), among other researchers, is especially associated with the idea that nations have culture, and that these cultures can be measured (Hofstede, 1980; 1991; Schwartz, 1997; Venaik and Brewer, 2016). Hofstede suggests that there is four dimensions of cultural variations shaped by; relationships between the individual and a group; inequalities in society, social implication of gender and how people handle uncertainties based on economic and social processes (Hofstede; 1980; Steenkamp, 2001; McSweeney, 2013). Hofstede sees four dimensions as individualism-collectivism, power-distance, masculinity and femininity and uncertainty avoidance are based on problems faced by society (McSweeney, 2002; McSweeney, 2013). The suggestion is that people in a country tend to identify themselves with a

collective national culture which is assumed that everyone has knowledge of and have accepted. These national cultures are distinguishable when people from different countries and cultures come into continuous contact (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1997; McSweeney, 2013).

However, Hofstede's model has been viewed differently with other researchers arguing that it tends to stereotype national cultures despite it being used extensively in the discipline of marketing (Steenkamp, 2001; Jafari, 2009; McSweeney, 2002). Such frameworks have been criticised for their functionalist perspective on national culture and contrasted with much richer conceptions that engage with actual cultures (McSweeney, 2002; 2013; Jafari, 2009). McSweeney (2002) rejects the notion that nations have cultures. He argues that the notion of nations having a unique national culture is both separatory and unifactory. McSweeney (2002) added that;

> *"The population of a nation can be differentiated on many grounds, but Hofstede claims that regardless of these divisions every national population somehow shares a unique culture."* (p. 92).

For example, even though Great Britain is made up of at least three nations – England, Scotland and Wales – Hofstede perceived them to be a single entity, identified by a single 'national culture' although these are distinct countries with different characteristics (Jafari, 2009; McSweeney, 2013). McSweeney (2002) suggested that besides a priori belief there is no basis to believe that national cultures even exist.

### 3.3.1 National Identity

A focus on national identity was a key idea developed in the nineteenth century as nationalism developed to become *"one of the most powerful forces in the modern world"* (Hutchinson and Smith 1994, p. 4.). Those who continue to discuss this issue are divided over whether nations are naturally occurring or constructed categories and

how they can be defined. They are divided too over how powerful national identity is compared to other identities. Smith (1991) in his well-known discussion takes the view that *'national identity does today exert a more potent and durable influence than other cultural identities'* ( pg.175-176).

Other commentators take a more qualified view. National identity remains important for many individuals for many reasons. From a political perspective, it can be both a source of strength and a way of creating differences between people (Miller, 2000; Mccrone & Bechhofer, 2010; Miller and Ali, 2014). National identity is especially important during the migration of individuals. When people migrate, they are faced with challenges to their ideas of national identity.

National identity essentialism suggests that people have a pre-given national identity to which they subscribe collectively. This view has led to people forming stereotypes around the conventional views of a nation in which groups of people are said to come together as if they all have similar experiences, culture and aspirations (Gellner, 2008; Smith & Smith, 2013). This raises many difficulties given the plural routes taken by countries as they move away from 'traditional' communities to 'modern' 'imagined' communities (Clifford, 1997; Anderson, 2006). In terms of this research, essentialising the idea of national identity regarding Zimbabwean and British identities hinders the critical analysis of the hidden layers of people's identities. This research, therefore, draws on the wider social science approach which sees national identity as socially constructed. Four things are important here.

First, many researchers identify the state as an agent responsible for the process of national identity construction. State institutions and the cultural apparatus have an important role in the construction of a nation. The state provides key understandings

by developing a civic ideology, a set of common understandings, aspirations and sentiments bringing together people from different backgrounds in their 'homeland' (Gellner, 2008; Ashley et al., 2004; Smith & Smith, 2013).

A second key factor in constructing nations and national identity is the concept of the *'imagined community'.* This is a concept that was made popular by Benedict Anderson (1983). According to Anderson (2006), nations are not as old as people would like to imagine. They are 'imagined' because the people living in them believe in having a shared sense of belonging with other people who they may never meet and do not hope to know at first hand (Anderson, 2006; Smith & Smith, 2013). Anderson (2006) argues that the development of print capitalism made it possible for people to perceive themselves and the citizenry of a nation with finite boundaries beyond which exist other sovereign nations. A nation is not something objective but rather, it functions as '*cognitive frame through which people apprehend social reality and construct routinized strategies of action'* (Bonikowski, 2016, p. 429).

Third, these nations are manifested and interpreted through systems of *invented traditions*. These invented traditions are used to promote social cohesion, national identity and the legitimacy of institutions within a constantly changing social, political and economic landscape (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Smith & Smith, 2013). Smith and Smith (2013) define the invented tradition as follows:

> *'... a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. Where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past'* (p. 118).

These invented traditions like the nations they attempt to represent are not as old as people think. They are *recent* inventions (Hobsbawm and Range, 2012; Smith and

Smith, 2013; Nowak, 2014). Smith and Smith (2013) added that, most importantly, 'invented traditions' are also dynamic and they respond to novel situations which are disguised in the form of references to ancient situations. Sometimes new traditions are added to the old ones or they are devised by borrowing from rituals symbolism and morals (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012).

Finally, these invented traditions can be considered *banal* things rather than high culture. Billig's focus on the banal aspects of national identity points to the central role of consumption in general in identity formation. The banal aspect of national identity formation lies in the mundane things people do in their everyday life (Billig, 2017; Fox & Ginderachter, 2018). Thus, low key things which people take for granted are found to be immensely sustaining (Antonsich, 2016; Skey & Antonsich, 2017). Banal identity forms can include dressing, music and food. Consumer culture, therefore, can make an important part of understanding national identity.

The fluidity of the idea of a nation is challenging to the diaspora communities. Their identities too are constantly producing themselves through transformation and differences (Clifford, 1997; Mavroudi, 2007; Hall, 2017). Brubaker (2005) says that '*there is no such whole as the nation, the culture or even the self*', so why should there be such whole as the Indian or Chinese diaspora?' (p. 12). This section has discussed the concept of culture including the critiques of the concept of national culture. Literature has also discussed the concept of national identity. The next chapter will discuss the definition and concept of migration.

### 3.4 Migration Theory

The understanding of migration derives initially from attempts in the late nineteenth century to understand rural-urban and international migration. Ravenstein (1885)

introduced the idea of “Laws of Migration” thereby identifying the processes of the migration of people. These laws have been argued to have been shaped by national and international migration. Others have pointed out that “*his laws have … descriptive character and explanations. The migration reasons and the factors promoting the reproduction of this phenomenon are absent*” (Gurieva, and Dzhioev, 2015, p. 102). In the inter-war years, attention shifted from economic processes to social processes. It also addressed the consequences especially related to the situation in the USA and the understanding of migration there – e.g. Polish, Italians. Europe still tended to be a continent of out-migration. After 1945 this changed and understanding processes and consequences became the focus more in Europe. Workers from abroad began to migrate to Europe (Lee, 1966; Massey et al., 1993).

Today, O’Reilly argues that;

> *“Migration as a process also has outcomes for sending and receiving countries (and for the individuals and their families) and many theories are applied to trying to understand these. A great deal of literature dealing both substantively and theoretically with migration actually concerns itself not so much with migration as a process but with the impacts of migration in terms of the societies in which they settle”* (O’Reilly, 2013, p. 36).

Various attempts have been made to survey this literature. Lee’s (1966) paper set out to understand;

> *“the development of a general schema into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed and, from a small number of what would seem to be self-evident propositions, to deduce a number of conclusions with regard to the volume of migration, the development of streams and counterstreams, and the characteristics of migrants”* (p. 49).

In the 1990's Massey et al., (1993) reviewed the literature on international migration. They pointed out that countries that encouraged international migration become multi-ethnic, migration theories, concepts and models from the nineteenth century have been questioned. They have been perceived to be fragmented and were developed in isolation from each other which becomes difficult when they are used to understanding contemporary migration which has become more complex (Massey et al., 1993). Since then others have explored international migration more deeply combining it more with social theory (O'Reilly, 2013). The contemporary literature on international migration has more recently changed focus and now explores the effectiveness of international migration policies (De Haas, 2019).

In his early paper "Theories of Migration", Lee (1966) defined migration *"as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence"* (p. 49). In addition, Lee (1966) argues that not all spatial mobility are included in this definition.

> *"For example are the continual movements of nomads and migratory workers, for whom there is no long-term residence, and temporary moves like those to the mountains for the summer"* (Lee, 1966, p. 49).

There are various ways of defining these migrants (Raghuram, 2010). The Office for National Statistics (2018) defines long-term international migrants as people who move from their country of residence for a year or more, thereby, making their country of destination their new country of residence. Forced and voluntary migrants are put into political categories such as asylum seeker, labour migrant, refugee, student, family reunification amongst others. Even the distinction between forced and voluntary migration is problematic as with the idea of 'responsive forced migration'. Migration is 'voluntary' if it occurs when there is no direct threat to the migrant. People

autonomously migrate as a reaction to events where they are not the intended victims (Nachmias & Goldstein, 2004; Ottonelli & Torresi, 2013). Erdal & Oeppen (2018) argue that migration studies tend to use oppositional binaries compartmentalizing different migrant groups and experiences for political reasons. The nature of migration politics in European countries further define these binaries by putting other labels on migrants, for example, skilled-unskilled; temporary-permanent and forced and voluntary. In reality, the lines are also blurred as there is no clear-cut distinction between the various binaries (Crawley & Skleparis, 2017).

Contemporary migration theory involves three main approaches that explain the migration of individuals. These are push-pull factors, social networks and historical structural theories of migration. Ravenstein's (1885; 1889) pioneering discussion of "laws of migration" has been developed in the understanding the 'push and pull factors of migration (Grigg, 1977). Push and pull strategies are based largely on economic factors (Lee, 1966; Castles et al., 2013; van Hear et al., 2018). The unequal distribution of resources contributes particularly to the drawing of labour from poor nations (Sert, 2010; Arango, 2017; de Haas, 2019). The individuals involved make personal rather than social group decisions to migrate after weighing the economic costs and benefits of migrating or staying in their home countries. The push factors include low income and poor working conditions in their home country. For example, in Zimbabwe, HIV and AIDS is prevalent and the health sector is dilapidated putting the lives of nurses and medical doctors at risk. While the push strategy is about emigration, the pull strategy is responsible for attracting people to migrate. Migrants are drawn towards the receiving country because they are presented with better economic conditions, better wages and job opportunities (Kline, 2003; Dywili et al., 2013; Okeke, 2013; de Haas et al., 2019). Kline (2003) argues that,

> *'both forces must be operating for migration to occur. In addition, facilitating forces must be present as well, such as the absence of legal or other constraints that impede migration.' (p. 108).*

Social Network theory is the second approach used to study migration theory. The conditions that initiate international migration may be different from those that perpetuate it across time and space. This perpetuation is enabled by networks (Dolfin & Genicot, 2010; Light et al., 2017). Migration networks are;

> '*sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin"* (Somerville, 2015, p. 136**)**.

Networks are important because they connect the would-be migrants by providing information necessary for travel, reducing the costs and risks of international migration (de Haas, 2010; Dekker & Engbersen, 2014; Light et al., 2017). Upon arrival, these networks help the migrant settle by assisting them to find accommodation, jobs and provide social, emotional and economic support which is essential (Somerville, 2015). Networks are there to provide information and the resources needed by the prospective migrants (Kline, 2003; Somerville, Walsworth, 2015; Light et al., 2017). *'These factors may affect the movement of the whole social group, although individuals within it will be differently affected*' (Raghuram, 2010, p. 196).

The third approach involves historical-structural theories. These are segmented labour market theory, dependency theory and world-system theory. The common attributes of these theories lie in placing the causes of international migration in the,

> '*realm of historically conditioned macrostructural forces; the primacy of the inherently exploitative and disequalising economic forces of global capitalism in explaining the directions and character of transnational population movements; and critical assessment of the mechanisms and effects of international migration as integrally related to the operation of the globalising capitalist market* (Morawska, 2012, p.55).

This shows that there are inequalities and these are balanced when individuals are forced to migrate to developed capitalist societies. As these societies become more industrialized, so is their demand for labour from poor migrant-sending nations hence the flow of the migrants. This creates structural incentives for migration to take place (Morawska; 2012; Somerville, 2015).

### 3.5 Consumer Culture Theory

The first two chapters stressed the importance of consumption in peoples' lives and the role of products in these identity projects. Consumption theory in sociological terms points to a growing prominence of cultures of consumption and does not just regard "*consumption as derived unproblematically from production"* (Featherstone, 2007, p. 13). There has been a growth in the importance of leisure and consumption activities in contemporary Western societies. This has seen greater individual freedom expressed through consumption (Featherstone, 2007; Arnould and Thompson, 2018).

> *"Consumer culture is premised upon the expansion of capitalist commodity production which has given rise to a vast accumulation of material culture in the form of goods and sites for purchase and consumption"* (Featherstone, 2007, p. 13)

McCracken (1986) argued that initially when goods were bought for their functionality purpose, the consumer was regarded as an economic buyer. They did this because they were more concerned with how they spent money than anything else. In the modern marketplace, however, there are a variety of products which are assessed by the consumer before purchase. This assessment involves a wide range of issues including convenience, pressures from families and communities and also economic reasoning (Levy, 1959; Belk, 1988; Clarke III, 2002). These product assessments are

made to understand if the symbolism of the product fits in or not with what the consumers' 'wants'.

> *"A symbol is appropriate when it joins with, meshes with, adds to, or reinforces the way the consumer thinks about himsef"* (Levy, 1959, p. 206)

Consumption is about social meanings (Levy, 1959; Sassatelli, 2007; Gbadamosi, 2015). Consumer culture theory explores how largely commercial products are consumed by social groups to construct their identities and also their social experiences (Askegaard et al., 2005; Jafari & Visconti, 2015; Arnould and Thompson, 2018). In western societies, people experience an oversupply of symbolic goods. Consumer theorists also then argue that there is a shift towards cultural disorders bringing into question the relationship between culture, economy and society (Featherstone, 2007).

The roots of consumer culture theory date back to the mid-twentieth century social sciences. Consumer culture theory acknowledges the theoretical perspectives that focus on the fluid relationships between the actions of consumers, the marketplace and the underpinning cultural meanings associated with products (Arnould and Thompson, 2018). Elliot (1999) states

> *'consumption of the symbolic meaning products is a social process that helps make visible and stable the basic categories of a culture which are under constant change'* and such *'consumption choices are vital sources of the culture of the moment*' (1999 p. 113).

The classic works by Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1979) '*The World of Good and Symbols'* and Pierre Bourdieu's '*Distinction; A social critique of the judgement of taste'* (1984) discussed the use of products as materials that encourage and support

social interactions. Social actors use them as symbolic indicators in making the world intelligible. This means products carry and communicate cultural meanings which are constantly moving from the commercial to consumer goods (McCracken, 1986; Elliot and Wattanasuwan, 1998; Holliday, 2000; Millan and Mittal, 2017). These cultural meanings are dynamic as they are socially constructed when social actors interact in different settings (Holliday, 2011; Nathan, 2015). Products, therefore, need to be understood as carriers of symbolic meanings. These meanings are not dictated by the products themselves but rather, people assign them their meaning. Such meanings differ as each individual or group has its conventions which they use to attach these symbolic meanings (Gbadamosi, 2015; Arnould and Thompson, 2018).

Consumer culture theory assists researchers to understand and explain the socio-cultural dynamics that influence consumers' consumption habits. CCT is not a unified theory, but is a continuously evolving perspective on consumer society and the markets that shape people's cultural life. First, consumer culture theory addresses complex issues of consumer identity projects. Through the use of products, consumers form contextually fragmented identities and negotiate multiple identities that are situational (Wattanasuwan, 2005; Arnould and Thompson, 2007; 2018).

Secondly, consumers use market-generated products to develop feelings of '*social solidarity and creative distinctive, self-selected, and sometimes transient cultural worlds through the pursuit of shared consumption interests"* (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p. 605). The consumer is perceived to be a social actor participating in various cultural worlds and observes their values enacting sub-cultural specific identities (Askegaard et al., 2005; Arnould and Thompson, 2005; 2018).

Thirdly, the socio-historic patterning of the consumption dimension shows that social structures are important and that they influence an individual's consumption patterns. These social structures include ethnicity, class, gender, culture and community. They are considered to be the recurrent patterned arrangements that lie behind the consumption of products by consumers (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Askegaard et al., 2005; Ustuner and Holt, 2007; Dey et al., 2019). Consumer agency identifies consumers' ability to make independent decisions and choices in the marketplace. As the process of consumption occurs, the consumers enact their authority which determines the roles and the positions they wish to occupy (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Sassatelli, 2007; Thomas & Loveland, 2015; Arnould and Thompson, 2018).

Fourth, the theory argues that there are mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers interpretive strategies. Here, the consumer is seen as an interpretive agent performing activities to create meaning. These activities involve both silently accepted identities; lifestyles dictated by the mass media and also a willing refusal to agree to ideological instructions (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Bradshaw & Holbrook, 2008; Joy & Li, 2012). Consumers, therefore, are not passive. They participate by freely consuming symbolic market-mediated products and by constructing fluid identities as their environment and consumption patterns changes (Shankar et al., 2009; Joy & Li, 2012; Arnould et al., 2019). People construct these fluid identities partly as individuals and partly as groups. CCT, therefore, focuses on the relationship between the individual and the group. Such groups can either be small or as large as a nation.

CCT does not accept the idea that culture is homogeneous, and that people have shared common meanings and ways of life. It stresses that consumer culture is heterogeneous with different meanings between overlapping groups in a broader socio-historic frame of globalization and market capitalism (Arnould & Thompson, 2005;

2018). This results in people constantly negotiating between these multiple identities to make sense of their environment (Dey et al., 2017; Kizgin et al., 2017). Negotiating these multiple identity projects is encouraged by desire-inducing commercialised symbols which give consumers different positions to inhabit allowing them to pursue personal goals through these consumer positions. People interpret consumption situations in ways that are in harmony with their currently active identities thereby forming *situational identities* (Jamal & Chapman, 2000; Epp & Price, 2011; Chapman & Beagan, 2013).

The multiple identities of people show the "*dynamics of fragmentation, plurality, fluidity, and the intermingling (or hybridization) of consumption traditions and ways of life*" (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p. 869). Identities are constructed to allow the person to fit into the fluid environment. This is not a simple task. It involves negotiating with many facets of consumption and identity. Individuals' identities can involve mixing with other identities depending on the individuals' consumption environments (Askegaard et al., 2005; Arnould & Thompson, 2018) which can include other ethnic communities (Dey et al., 2019).

People thus live in a '*culturally constituted'* world. '*Without consumer goods, certain acts of self-definition and collective-definition in this culture would be impossible*' (McCracken, 1988a, p. xi). This means that the symbolism of products can be viewed differently by some members of the peer group in different cultures (Oswald; 1999; Shrum, et al., 2013; Dey et al., 2017).

Researchers influenced by CCT have focused on the issue of the identity of many groups. For example, Schau, Gilly, & Wolfinbarger (2009) researched consumer iden-

tity projects in older people and found that during retirement, older consumers extensively worked on their identity with multiple revived and emergent inspirations mixing '*across all time orientations (past, present, and future) and involving intricate consumption enactments'* (p. 255). Jamal (2003) researched on how the UK white population and Pakistanis construct and maintain multiple identities through food consumption as they interact daily. In the study by Jafari and Goulding (2008) on Iranians and their consumption practices and identity construction in the UK, it was found that Iranians experienced a 'torn' identity. Sihvonen (2015) researched on the consumption of media and the construction of identity by young people. When describing the Haitians movement between their culture and the American culture, Oswald (1999) referred to this as 'culture swap'. Ethnic groups may use goods to move between changing cultural environments making visible their ethnic identity amongst other identities (Cwiertka, 2006; Joy & Li, 2012; Jafari & Visconti, 2015).

### 3.6 Consumer Acculturation

The previous section has shown that the products people consume are imbued with meanings. These meanings are dynamic, and as they change, so do the identities associated with them. The key question is, how do these consumers acquire 'consumer skills'?

According to Leudicke (2011), the learning of new consumer skills is important for migrants when they move to new countries. In fact, this is a complicated process for migrants as they settle in their new host nations. As these migrants cross borders, they initiate a process of socio-cultural adaptation to the changes that may be complex and unfamiliar to them. The changing economic, biological, social and cultural environments are often stressful to these migrants (Berry and Sam, 1997; Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Rudmin, 2009; Luedicke 2015; Gangl, and Kirchler, 2016). Migrant

consumer acculturation is the process that *"happens to individuals, who have developed in one cultural context, when they attempt to live in a new cultural context"* (Luedicke, 2011, p. 2).

Luedicke (2015) pointed out that there have been three waves of research on consumer acculturation. The first wave explored the differences between migrants and their local peers and what the differences meant to the migrants' assimilation patterns (Reilly and Wallendorf 1987; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983). The second wave has explored the consumer acculturation experience with the innovative works of Penaloza (1989) on "*how much" – immigrant consumers acquire the "skills and knowledge relevant to engaging in consumer behavior*" (110) in a foreign cultural context (Luedicke, 2011).

Luedicke (2011) suggests that,

> *"consumer acculturation research has generated a wealth of knowledge useful for theoreticians, marketers, politicians, and social activists that seek to better understand, and potentially act upon, the lifeworlds of migrant consumers under diverse socio-cultural conditions"* (p. 3).

The third wave of consumer acculturation research was focussed on new research contexts and how consumers adjust their consumption choices to avoid negative experiences (Jafari and Goulding, 2008; Sandikci and Ger, 2010; Luedicke, 2015).

The discussion of consumer acculturation today is distinct as it attempts to understand the process of consumer learning in a multicultural world (Penaloza, 1986; Dey at al., 2019). Researchers in consumer acculturation such as Reilly and Wallendorf (1983) have argued that culture is an important factor in migrants consumer behaviour and the understanding of cross cultures and subcultures. Therefore, consumer acculturation is not just a process of adaptation - it also manifests as experiences,

interpretations, and practices. These adjustments can see both migrants and the indigenes adjust to one another's consumption choices, behaviours, ideologies, and status ambitions (Luedicke, 2015). Migrant consumer acculturation works have therefore highlighted and conceptualized socio-cultural and commercial dynamics that are the outcomes of migrants moving between different social contexts (Luedicke, 2011; 2015; Penaloza, 1994). For Pradhan et al., (2019) post-assimilationism suggests that acculturation is the outcome of two cultures coming into continuous contact with one or both cultural group/s changing from their original cultural patterns (Penaloza, 1994; Askegaard et al., 2005; Chytkova, 2011; Luedicke, 2015).

Luedicke (2011) argues that social learning is integral to explaining the acquisition of the skills and knowledge needed by the migrant to participate fully in the marketplace in their new geographic environment (Penaloza, 1994; Kizgin et al., 2019). Society is larger than the sum of its parts. Societies continuously reproduce themselves by constantly training future generations, using belief systems, norms, attitudes and behaviours through the process of consumer socialisation. This is the process through which an individual learns and develops acceptable socially relevant skills and experiences from their social interactions (Ward, 1974; John, 1999; Mikeska et al., 2017). It also involves the development of socially relevant behaviours (Zigler & Child, 1969; Penaloza, 1994). Socialisation occurs when two actors namely the agent and the learner are present. The process sees the learner observing the socialisation agent's behaviour so they may replicate it in the absence of the agent (Ward, 1974; Kuczynski & Mol, 2014).

What distinguishes consumer acculturation is that the consumer learning process is studied within a multicultural context (Penaloza, 1994; Askegaard et al., 2005; Luedicke, 2011; Dey et al., 2019). Penaloza (1994) in her post-assimilationist study

ethnographical study of consumer acculturation of Mexicans living in America developed an acculturation model with outcomes. These consisted of movement, translation and adaptation with acculturation outcomes - assimilation, maintenance, integration, resistance and segregation (Penaloza, 1994; Luedicke, 2011; Choudhary et al., 2019). Luedicke (2011) added that research on consumer acculturation revolves around theories of how migrants construct their identity projects when they are transitioning from their country of origin to their new country. Table 3.1 below shows the various strategies suggested by Berry that can be adopted by migrants when they settle in their new host countries.

**Table 3.1 Strategies of Acculturation**

| Acculturation Strategy | Description |
|---|---|
| **Assimilation** | The individual/ group members choose not to maintain their original consumption patterns and draws interest from the desire to interact with other groups. |
| **Separation** | The individual members desire to hold on to their original consumption patterns and choose not to interact or change their habits to fit in with others. |
| **Marginalisation** | The individual has no interest in maintaining their consumption pattern or that if host society. |
| **Integration** | The individual's interest is to maintain their original cultural identity and consumption patterns and choose to interact and integrate with others. |

**Source:** Adapted from Berry (1997) and (Sam & Berry, 2010)

The selection of a strategy mainly depends upon many factors such as the generational status, length of stay, context, schools, churches and businesses (Cappellini & Yen, 2013; Choudhary et al., 2019). Other factors identified that contribute to these outcomes were discussed by Askegaard et al., (2005) such as family, peers, the media, and global consumer culture which is not associated to any nation, gender, time

of arrival/ recency of migration and economic status (Ustuner and Holt, 2007; Cappellini and Yen, 2013; Berry & Hou, 2016). While others have suggested that other ethnic communities have the potential to influence the consumer acculturation outcomes (Dey, et al., 2019). Lastly, the growth of technology has brought new consumer acculturation agents such as social media (Kizgin et al., 2017; Kizgin et al., 2019; Yau et al., 2019). All these researchers have acknowledged the importance of host and home acculturation agents (Chai & Dibb, 2014) with only the extension coming of ethnic communities (Dey, et al., 2019).

Earlier consumer researchers suggested that ethnic minorities or those who have migrated may adopt acculturative positions that are static. They have highlighted that the assimilation and acculturation process is about individuals engaging in a linear progression from one culture to another (Pires & Stanton, 2000; Luedicke, 2011). Others have considered acculturation to be a bi-dimensional (Penaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Askegaard, 2005; Luedicke, 2011).

However, the current debates acknowledge other ethnic cultures which may be attractive to the migrant making this multi-dimensional. Cultural adaptations come as people from different cultures learn from each other. The continuous contact advocated by consumer acculturation then occurs between groups from different cultures and impacts on the consumers learning processes with changes occurring to all interacting groups including other ethnic groups (Wamwara-Mbugua et al., 2008; Luedicke 2015; Dey et al., 2019). This section has addressed the concept of consumer acculturation and the various outcomes of this process. However, the literature has also shown that this is not a straight forward process but there are various factors that influence this process hence the migrant's decisions are not only based on their feelings but pressures around them.

### 3.7 Diaspora Theory

The term diaspora is a well-established term but it is only recently that people have spoken of diaspora theory. Originally, the term diaspora was used to refer to the Jewish and Armenian peoples' dispersion from their 'homeland' (Cohen, 1992; Safran, 1991; 2007; Vervotec, 2004). Today, however, Kenny (2013) argues that,

> *"The word diaspora is everywhere. It is increasingly widespread in academic, journalistic, political and popular usage ... since the 1980s, diaspora has proliferated to a remarkable extent, to the point where it is now applied to migrants of almost every kind"* (p. 1).

Brubaker (2005) argued similarly that the term diaspora,

> *'has proliferated, its meaning has been stretched to accommodate the various intellectual, cultural and political agendas in the service of which it has been enlisted. This has resulted in what one might call a '''diaspora'' diaspora' - a dispersion of the meanings of the term in semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space"* (p. 1).

While migration theory discusses the migrant's process of moving from one country to the other diaspora theory is about their experiences of being in between - in both migrant sending and receiving societies. In fact, diaspora theory enhances the understanding of intercultural and transcultural processes and forms (Gilroy, 1994) and also consumer acculturation (Penaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Luedicke, 2011). The existence of the diaspora is dependent on the conditions in the receiving country and how the migrants live their lives (Safran, 2007).

> *"After migrants make initial adjustments and solve the immediate problems involved in settling down in a host country, their main dilemma is whether to opt for eventual assimilation or maintain their ethno-national identity."* (Sheffer, 2002, p. 81).

Diaspora theory brings to light the importance of migrants and their small communities as they form relationships in their host countries (Safran, 2007). As migrants move into these host nations, they find themselves forming groups with people who may have migrated from their country of origin. In most cases, when they form these groups the attempt is to create a distinct community. These migrants attempt to maintain their distinct minority identity in the host country by maintaining and transmitting their cultural heritage through the consumption of symbols based on their ancestral 'home' (Armstrong, 1976; Safran, 2005). In this way diaspora theory attempts to investigate further some neglected and under-theorised issues in migration theory.

The term 'diaspora' is a Greek term that means a dispersed population which shares common elements of culture or even heritage because of their linkages to a home. This 'home' can be real or imagined (Anderson, 2006; Adamson, 2012). According to Cohen (1992) the term has

> *"crept into social-scientific and historical vocabulary in an inauthorized or, at least undertheorised way. It seems now loosely to refer to any communities in the world living far from their natal homelands. To the extent a "diaspora" is simply the outcome of continental and international migration"* (p. 159).

'Diaspora' has also been associated with traumatic and banishment experiences of ethnic, religious and national groups. These negative experiences led some groups such as the Jewish people to geographically disperse away from Israel/Palestine. It has also been associated with the Armenians who are also a dispersed population. Debates have also been centred on the concept of 'homeland' which has been used

to draw boundaries for those in the diaspora (Morawska, 2011; Adamson, 2012; Brubaker, 2017).

Raghuram (2010) indicates that the diaspora communities maintain their links with their real or imagined home through the flow of goods, money and ideas into and out of the migrant-sending and receiving countries. Such movements make the borders between nations porous and dynamic. The diaspora concept enables people to understand *'how people can have continuing attachments to places which can't be explained if we think of populations as static and territorially bound in nations'* (p. 183). These personal experiences include their identities which are part of their lived experiences and they also affect their consumption and cultural behaviours.

Some commentators have argued that migrants have stable homes. They are stable because the 'diaspora' finds solidarity in preserved historical memories, vision and myths which they assume are similar to everyone who belongs to their ethnic or religious group. Migrants may also believe in a 'homeland' to which they will at some point return to (Brubaker, 2017; Cohen and Yefet, 2019). According to this essentialized approach, 'diaspora' involves,

> '*ethnonational groups whose members reside out of their home country and who retain a sense of membership in their group of origin and collective representation and concern for the well being of their homeland which plays a significant role in their lives in both the symbolic and normative sense'* (Morawska, 2011, p. 1030).

However, the discussion in the previous chapters shows that people have varying identities which are context-dependent. In this thesis, therefore diasporas are considered more as transnationally organised 'imagined communities' which are 'discursively' constructed with no singular culture and identity but rather fragmented.

Within diaspora theory, home is a source of identity. But where is this home located? Home is a concept that is difficult to define. It has many meanings associated with different levels of abstractions. 'Home' is a place where people live and which can also be 'imagined' (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). Rapport & Dawson (1998) indicated that *'home becomes an arena where differing interests struggle to define their own space with which to localise and cultivate their identity*' (p.472).

Some 'sedentarists' argued that home is fixed, bounded and a discreet place. These researchers are inspired by philosophical literature on the power of place and attachments (Casey, 1998; Tolia-Kelly, 2004). Their understanding is based on locating people to a particular place which is not like any other (Datta, 2010 ; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011).

In contrast, other theorists suggest that the home can be perceived not to be spatial (King & Christou, 2011; Taylor, 2015). Home has no geographical boundaries but rather home can refer to a particular place or several places where the individual has needed comfort, respect and can fraternise with peers. Translocalism sees migrants being influenced by their everyday life experiences of both places of origin and destination. These tensions allow migrants to effectively refuse to be located in one place. It is in this context that researchers have challenged the way home is imagined as bounded. The concept of 'home' is therefore messy, constantly changing, blurred and opaque (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). Rabikowska (2010) argues that home can be negotiated and is situationally dependent. It is influenced also by the person's profession, gender, expectations and in some cases peer pressure. Accepting the fluidity of 'diaspora', this study also sees the notion of 'home' is unstable, moving in and between many locations as the migrants move from their country of origin to a host country (Moskal, 2015; Taylor, 2015).

### 3.8 Memory and Nostalgia

Memory and nostalgia are important to migration studies. These are concepts which enable researchers to understand the way migrants negotiate their lived experiences and life in the host country. Memory was originally studied by psychologists who initially thought about it in terms of the individual and the functioning of the brain and different types of memory (Ebbinghus, 2013). Other researchers have discussed memory in a social way to understand its impact on social life and society at large (Olick and Robbins, 1998; Bower and Forgas, 2001; Halbwachs, 2020).

Researchers have highlighted that memory is about remembering about the past all humans are potentially capable of doing so unless their 'memory' is lost. Some researchers have argued the creation of memory is a three stage progression that involves "*product learning and the process of retention and retrieval*" (Klein, 2015, p.3). Others have suggested that,

> *"Memory consists in an initial act of registration (learning) which, via the continuity assumed necessary and provided by the mechanism of storage, eventuates in an acti of retrieval"* (Klein, 2015).

Atkinson and Shiffrin (1968) seminal paper suggested that there is evidence that individuals store up in their memory faculty the knowledge they acquire as they preserve it for the future (Malmberg, et al., 2019). However, Bower (2013) suggested that,

> *"without rehearsals information may decay completely and is lost within a period of 30 seconds but a control process called rehearsal can maintain a limited amount of information … as long as the subject desire"* (Bower, 2013, p. 8-9).

Debates around the concept of memory vary. Although most of these researchers refer to the recalling aspect of memory, other researchers have argued that there is a lack of research on the subjective temporal orientation in the act of remembering (Kvale, 1974; Klein, 2015). Others are attempting to assess the information that has been collected and accumulated and the duration it remains accessible to the individual (Puff, 1982; Tulving and Craik, 2000; Mace, 2010). Ebbinghaus (2013), for example, actually argues that memory decreases with time.

Nostalgia is a particular kind of subjective social memory. It has been argued that migrants struggle with nostalgia as they settle in their new environment (Boym, 2001; Smith and Campbell, 2017). In fact, Boym (2001) suggested that everyone at some point experiences nostalgia. Although it can be negatively viewed, the past-oriented approach to nostalgia perceives this to be a '*home*' sickness (Smith and Campbell, 2017) which might be experienced by the migrants. The important early works of Nawas and Platt (1965) argued that nostalgia is *"primarily a reaction by the individual to his unsuccessful adaptation to his surroundings".* They added further, that it results "*from a discrepancy between the actual and the imagined surroundings, the latter being determined not by perception but by conceptions* (p. 52). In contemporary society, nostalgia now has commercial value (Cui, 2015; Hartmann and Brunk, 2019). To indicate the commercial importance of nostalgia, many researchers are now focusing on how businesses are providing products such as fashion and foods among other things to enable the migrants to capture this "*dear departed past*" (Holbrook, 1993, p. 245). This is mainly to do with people assigning different meanings to these products (McCracken, 1986; Belk 1988; Brown et al., 2003) and nostalgia is one of the important meanings (Hartmann and Brunk, 2019).

So, memory is *'the human faculty of preserving certain traces of experience and having access to these- at least in part- through recall*' (Jedlowski, 2001, p. 29). But how do we know what is real and what is imagined? Social memory as a collective process has been researched across the social sciences and humanities albeit in an unreflective and uncritical manner. Social memory depends on socialization, communication and can be analysed as a function of social life (Bell, 2003; Beiner, 2008; Hirst et al., 2019). Such positions assume that through learning from other people and institutions people are then able to create a memory which is similar to that of others who may have gone through a similar process of socialization. In fact, recalling the past generally involves reconstructions, which are always problematic, complex and incomplete expressions not in existence anymore (Gedi & Elam, 1996; Hirst et al., 2018).

Halbwachs (1992) suggests that cultural memory is a collective entity. This indicates that people share memory which in itself is a representation of shared past events which happened in a specific place. Collective memory places value on space because this is where individuals construct and reconstruct these memories and their imaginations. This place is considered (or imagined) to be real and enduring. In addition, individuals associate past events with values, narratives and biases which are shared by the group (Beiner, 2008; Hirst et al., 2018). Social interactions with other people enable the individual to 'remember' their past experiences. In this case, the group becomes an important part in the construction of experiences. This means that collective memory is a socially generated concept (Assmann, 2011; Hirst *et al.,* 2018).

According to Assmann (2011), cultural memory is formed when a society creates systems that ensure cultural continuity. It involves a 'reference to the past' based on a shared history. Collective knowledge is galvanized through a reference to shared

past history which is situated in time and space. This memory can be triggered by the objects people symbolically associate with time and space. When an individual or group of individuals do not 'have' these symbols, they create them up for themselves. This is not to say 'things' have memory but they act as triggers of a shared memory which then enables a group to have a shared memory (Bell, 2003; Assmann, 2011; De Brigard, 2014).

Bell (2003) proposed a social agency approach to the notion of 'collective' memory. If memory is passed from generation to generation, then it cannot be seen as a '*recall of earlier states of activity and experience because experience and activities are events that an individual is exposed to and immersed in and these cannot be transferred'* because *'we were not there'* (p. 73).

These varied social constructions make it extremely difficult and problematic to accept the idea of *collective* memory. An individual's capabilities to recall their personal experiences are unique to them. Memory is therefore subjective. More, people can choose to remove some aspects from their memory when recalling lived experiences. Memory is, therefore, a socially constructed property of the individual's mind (Jedlowski, 2001; Winter, 2016). Such memories are shaped by discursive elements, images and vocabularies among other things which enable the filtration and sense-making of the individual's experiences (Hirst et al., 2018).

The notion of a *collective food memory* as a simple transmission is inconsistent with this research. Food consumption patterns are experienced by people in different ways and in different places. The preceding chapter has shown that food consumption patterns are dynamic. All the black Zimbabwean inbetweeners cannot have had similar consumption patterns. It has also been seen in Zimbabwe that they left, that food

shortages caused some families to sleep on empty stomachs while the elite could afford to buy food from different countries.

According to Sedikides and Wildschut (2016), nostalgia is a *'sentimental longing for one's past*' (p. 319). It has triggers which include social interactions and sensory inputs such as products, smells, food and music among other products they find on the marketplace. These inputs enable people to emotionally and fondly 'remember' their past (Barrett, et al., 2010; Koetz & Tankersley, 2016).

Not all emotional memories are nostalgic but memory is inherent in the construction of nostalgic emotions. Nostalgia in a way shows the ability of an individual to draw strength from memories that are close to others (Hepper *et al.,* 2012; Sedikides et al., 2015; Wildschut et al., 2015). Nostalgia plays an important role in what people remember and 'forget'. Migrants like the black Zimbabwean inbetweeners may choose not to recall the period where they experienced food shortage because of their negative experiences.

The modern view of nostalgia sees it as a more positive emotion which is ambiguous and difficult for people to explain (Stephan, et al., 2014). Sedikides & Wildschut (2016) argue that nostalgia is a ''bittersweet'' feeling. The migrant develops a feeling where they yearn for the past which evokes their memories of the desired past. These positive nostalgic emotions are constructed by migrants when they dramatize their past which they then use to judge their present moment in a foreign country. In this case, they connect their past events and experiences to give meanings to their present state which is fluid thereby creating positive emotions (Vazquez-Medina, 2015; Specht & Kreiger, 2016). However, Boym (2008) argued that nostalgia is repeating what is not

repeatable. If migrants attempt to relate nostalgia to a specific place and time they are disappointed (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2016).

The past is inaccessible except as an imagined, idealised and constructed past. Migrants find themselves searching for these nostalgic experiences in products to bring comfort to their lives in the migrant-receiving country. In a consumer culture, nostalgia is the desire to return to the past based on products found on the marketplace that are symbolically consumed by fragmented consumers to create nostalgic fantasies, memories and emotions (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Ustuner and Holt, 2007; Arnould and Thompson, 2018). Symbolism, meanings and nostalgia, therefore, come together to form a powerful force for the consumer.

### 3.9 Food Consumption and identity

Perhaps the most famous comment on food is that of Brillat-Savarin in his early nineteenth century *"The Physiology of Taste: or meditations on transcendental gastronomy"* where he wrote that *"tell me what you eat and I will tell you who you are* (Pietrykowski, 2004, p. 307). However, during the period when Brillat-Savarin wrote there was a clear connection between the food ingested, well-being and the level of income (Bohórquez and Liddle, 2015).

According to Atkins and Bowler (2016), during the twentieth century, research on food has moved from a functionalist perspective to an emphasis on structuralism (Lupton, 1996). The initial perspectives on food were based on customary and ritualized behaviours that reproduced stable societies. The argument was that what seemed odd to the outsiders was actually what bound others together, clearly indicating distinctions (Goody, 1982; Bourdieu, 1984; Arsel and Bean, 2018). Caplan

(1997) argues that the rise of structuralism in the 1960's was an encouragement for athropologists to write and research about food. They built their debate on the works done by researchers such as Levi-Strauss between 1965 and 1970. They sought to recognise that 'taste' was shaped both culturally and socially (Arsel and Bean, 2018). This structuralist approach has influenced research that treats food as *"analogous to language, and examines the ways in which its meanings can be grasped from an understanding of symbol and metaphor* (Caplan, 1997, p. 2). Roland Barthes (1975) focused on the meaning of food, while Mary Douglas echoed this by exploring on the constitution of a meal and how people encode it to draw distinctions of social relations (Douglas and Nicod, 1974; Caplan, 1997: Warde and Martens, 2000; Douglas, 2014).

Fischler (1988) among other researchers has argued that food can be used to construct a collective identity. Arsel and Bean (2018) argue that there are various other works in anthropology on social and animal classifications. They have argued that food and taste marks cultural identities. This makes people argue that "*we eat meat, they don't",* and "*we eat horse, they don't*" (James, 1997, p. 72) creating collective identities. The development of nationalism has also affected the construction of nations. In fact, food is also symbolically consumed to socially construct these nations (Bell and Valentine, 1997; Pechurina, 2020). However, some researchers have rejected the notion of stereotyping and creating national cuisines. The idea of "German cuisine" and "British cuisine" *"contradicts the tremendous diversities of food preferences within any particular culture"* (James, 1997, p. 72). Research food consumption has also focused on how food connects to other processes of identity construction with Bourdieu's (1984) discussion of class distinction, religious practices (Bynum, 1988) and cultural preferences (Sahlins, 1990; Barthes, 1997; Counihan and van Esterik, 1997; Arsel and Bean, 2018). Since the 1970's feminist writers have also researched

on the role of women, food preparation and the reproduction of family (Atkins and Bowler, 2016).

From anthropology of exotic people to the study of food in advanced societies, the symbolism in products has also increased in the way food consumption is perceived. In fact, the more current research debates are moving from the collective to the individual choices where the agency of people is emphasized in every food consumption situation (Warde, 1997; Atkins and Bowler, 2016). The argument is that through these individual choices people are consuming various foods which they use construct multiple identities (Jafari and Goulding, 2008; Rabikowska, 2010) and also for social differentiation (Warde and Martens, 2000).

Although debates are on different perspectives, all these accounts see food as a "*system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usage, situations and behaviour*" (Barthes, 1997, p. 24). In addition, eating food is a system used to communicate values, rules, and identities (Sato et al., 2016; Polese et al., 2017; Pechurina, 2020). In fact, when an individual buys food, consumes it, and even serves it, they are actually using food to sum up or and transmit a situation (Barthes, 1997).

People consume food daily in their social interactions. It is a part of peoples' social life. Meals are either eaten with others or in the presence of others (Pilgrim, 1957; Fischler, 1980; Douglas, 2014). Fischler (2011) added that '*Meals regulate social life and individual behaviour both at a social and biological level*', (p. 534). However, others have begun focusing on the sociological story of de-constructing domestic meals eaten in families (DeVault 1991; Burridge and Barker, 2008; Field-Singh, 2017; Holm and Lund, 2019). Yates and Wade (2017) suggest that,

> *"Accounts of de-structuration and of decline in commensal or family eating often assume that temporal disruption is the mediating factor between meal arrangements and underpinning social or cultural trends such as individualization, informalization and commodification."* (p. 106)

When it comes to ethnicity, migrants too symbolically consume foods to construct their identity (Arsel and Bean, 2013). For Vallianatos and Raine (2008),

> *"Food is of central importance in maintaining connections to home, and signifying ethnic identity among diasporic community and member"*(p. 356).

The symbolic nature of food is not only in eating but also the way it is prepared, cooked, and presented. However, as a mundane everyday practice, most people take food for granted when in fact it is a complicated and sophisticated practice. The symbolic discourse utilizing food involves people assigning diverse meanings to their food consumption practices. These symbolic food consumption patterns then acquire multiple meanings which are context-bound. These mundane daily food consumption patterns are capable of revealing the society in which they are constructed through the way they give these meanings (Rabikowska, 2010; Billig, 2017; Brown and Paszkiewicz, 2017).

These meanings emanate from food consumption patterns which are carried out in different settings where people define them with what, where, who, how and whom to construct meanings. Thus, a combination of food and context contribute towards the messages being conveyed or inferred. For example, an individual may eat everything in the plate and can be perceived to be glutton. It may also be an attempt to avoid. waste or explained in a number of other ways. Such symbolic food consumption 'patterns' are created and recreated wherever *"human beings vest elements of their meaning and significance which extends beyond its intrinsic content* (p.133). This indicates

that food has the capabilities of transforming itself situationally (Rabikowska, 2010; Abbots, 2016; Brown, 2017; P).

If food-related symbolism is complicated then the relationship between food and identity is even more complicated. Identities are shaped by the meanings assigned by people to the food practices as they socialise and develop moral values, attitudes and duties to distinguish themselves. By so doing, people are presenting what Bourdieu calls their habitus which distinguishes them from others (Bourdieu, 2010; Sato *et al.,* 2016; Jarosz, 2017).

In the area of food and identity, it has been argued that people too have multiple identities and reference groups ranging from family, gender, peer groups and ethnicity. People then use food consumption to symbolically reproduce these identities. These identities change along with their associated food consumption patterns (Wilk & Hintlian, 2005; D'Sylva & Beagan, 2011; Ichijo & Ranta, 2016). These can also include class identities (Beagan, Power, & Chapman, 2015).

Food practices and food meanings assist in the formation of family identity and domestic life (Moisio et al., 2004). This can be seen in the way family meals are viewed as the site for the construction of a family identity. ‘Home’ made food can be symbolically used to construct ‘home’ and family during these family meals. Food can be used to indicate power relationships that exist in families where can be used as a form of punishment and reward thereby enhancing the maintenance of relationships (Mintz and DuBois, 2002; Wilk, 2010; Jarosz, 2017). So, around these meal times parents, and especially mothers, find it a useful time to socialise children into gendered behaviour, table manners and food taste (Wills, et al., 2011; Jarosz, 2017). In this domestic life food practice are used to distinguish the gendered roles in a household

(Warde & Hetherington, 1994; Moisio et al., 2004; Beagan et al., 2008; D'Sylva & Beagan, 2011). Charles and Kerr (1988) suggested that,

> *'a proper meal is defined not only by its contents but by the way it is eaten and what happens during the meal in terms of behaviour. It is also defined by who is present. It is ideally a meal which is a 'family' meal and this, by definition, requires all members of the family to be present. It is also a meal cooked by the woman in the household for herself, her partner and her children.* (p. 21).

Apparent here is the gendered understanding that women are heavily invoved in the importance of a family and the defining family meals.

Rabikowska (2010) suggested that the symbolism of food is a tool that is used by people to negotiate the space they refer to as 'home' which can be a geographic location but also 'imagined'. Food can also be symbolically used by people to reconnect with their 'imagined home'. The maintenance of emotional links with their 'imagined home' can be publicly achieved through the consumption of their 'homeland' foods found in the café and restaurants (Brown et al., 2010; Rabikowska & Burrell, 2016; Brown, 2017; Brown et al., 2019; Pechurina, 2020).

Food meanings and practices can also represent the wider social structures and relationships. Food is also a culturally defined object and is used to maintain and anchor reference group memberships and can even set them apart from others (Mint and DuBois, 2002; Rabikowska and Burrell, 2016). This can be in the form of groups consuming food to celebrate important occasions in their lives and many other occasions. For example, the consumption of oranges, the Christmas carp and Wagilia wafer by the Polish people during Christmas (Burrell, 2012) and the consumption of Halal food by the Muslims (Hamdan et al., 2013; Jamal & Sharifuddin, 2015).

Since food has symbolic meanings that are socially constructed, people can perceive food as a symbol that links them with their '*memory'* and '*home'*. Ethnic food consumption patterns are then used by migrants to reconstruct this 'imagined homeland. In fact, certain foods are considered to originate from the heritage and culture of an ethnic group. They use ingredients local to them and their knowledge of plants and animals (Sekhon & Szmingin, 2005; Chin, 2013; Kwon, 2015). Mintz and DuBois (2002), argued that "*ethnicity is born of acknowledged differences and works through contrast"* (p. 109). This has prompted some to stereotypically locate food to a geographical space and a distinguished eating community. However, just as ethnicity and the concept of nationhood is imagined so any associated food consumption practices may also be imagined. As these cuisines are imagined by people, they become the banal things that lead to the manifestation of ethnicity or nationhood (Mintz & Du Bois, 2002; Billig, 2009; 2017).

Kwon (2015) further argues that as people migrate from one country to the other, they are eager to introduce their ethnic food to other people. However, there are difficulties when researchers begin to stereotype national cuisines. National food patterns represent a reconstruction and negotiation of varied cultural cuisines which themselves borrow from other cuisines (Wilk, 1999; Alfonso, 2012; Chapman and Beagan, 2013; Pechurina, 2018). Pechurina (2018) argues that,

> '*the definition of national (or 'our') food is constructed in relation to 'Other', that is foreign foods from other'* places (p. 94).

This includes the way people cook and conduct their food 'practices of commensality and conviviality are malleable symbolic resources (Raento, 2010; Naidu & Nzunza, 2014). This thesis has already shown in chapter two how changes have impacted

‘Zimbabwean cuisine’ during and after colonisation. Migrants foodways too are not static; they are configured and reconfigured, disrupted and reinvented as their cultural context changes. This means that migrants experience both gains and losses when it comes to food consumption. Their food cultures are not uniform as they see individuals belonging to one community and distancing themselves from another (Coakley, 2012; Pechurina, 2018; Seliverstova, 2017).

Given that people symbolically consume products to convey a message, migrants can also use ethnic food consumption to communicate their cultural differences by seeking ‘*authentic* foods’ from their ‘imagined homeland’. Brown et al., (2015) argues that people seek food ‘authentic’ food a way of reconnecting with the ‘imagined home’ that they migrated from. Some ethnic minorities’ try to source suppliers of their ethnic food in their new host countries. Some travel a long distance and pay high prices to purchase these ‘authentic’ foods from their country of origin. Imagining homeland cuisine as unchanging they seek to reproduce their ‘fixed authentic’ ethnic identities through the consumption of these ‘ethnic foods. Rather than lose their connection with their homeland, migrant groups re-enact their food experiences through social activities (Ashley et al., 2004; Rabikowska, 2010; Zanoni, 2018).

### 3.9.2 Authenticity

Authenticity is normally thought of as something which is ‘genuine’ and ‘true’. As a concept it has been debated across different disciplines. It is also an important commercial strategy. Indeed Lindgreen, Hingley, Grant and Morgan (2012) have argued that the creation of value is of importance for the survival of commercial organisations. It is believed that claims of the authenticity increase consumer value ratings and generate value to the firm (Kovacs et al., 2014; 2017). Customers have been found to be

interested in authenticity and they may even forgo quality as they pursue it (Fritz, Schoenmueller, Bruhn, 2017; Kovacs et al., 2017).

Some researchers argue that there is a gap between the primitive, pre-modern world which is authentic and a modern inauthentic one. Here the concept of authenticity is a '*Western cultural notion, with no objective quality'* (Beer, 2013, p. 48). In a pre-modern society like Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe the native populations did not ask if they, or their lifestyles (including foods) were authentic. Robinson and Clifford (2012) suggest that authenticity emerges from the democratisation of the modern individual's experience. It is the individual who is thinks about the whole notion of authenticity as an expression of the self in the modern world.

This means that authenticity is always socially constructed in specific (modern) contexts.

> '*When socially constructed, definitive evaluations about whether an entity is authentic or not become virtually impossible because there is no objective answer to the question and because interpretations vary across audiences and change across time'* (Kovacs, Carroll and Lehman 2014, p.3)

This social construction can also be deliberate and manipulative. MacCannell (1973) initiated the debate in this area in a famous paper on the staged nature of tourist provision. Today, it is common to see the argument about authenticity more widely in terms of whether there is,

> '*… is an objective truth upon which authenticity is based, where authenticity is a self-explaining concept that is fully genuine and trustworthy [or it is ] … an experience that is in some way staged*' (Beer 2013, p. 48).

Indeed, Potter (2010) claimed we are all involved in an 'authenticity hoax'.

Authenticity is also an important issue when it comes to food practices. Commercial organisations exploit claims to food authenticity through branding and related ways of adding value. Authenticity in food can be a different or novel way of making something different from the 'authenticity' of food experience produced in a particular culture. In the UK potatoes are rarely marketed as authentic – rice and pasta might be.

Various factors are claimed to be central to food authenticity. *'The authenticity of foods … is frequently used to refer to a genuine version of a product in relation to a place, region or country'* (Robinson and Clifford, 2012, p. 577). Authenticity can be the naming of a wider cuisine to associate it with a geographic space and also to a time and tradition (Johnston and Baumann, 2010; Robinson and Clifford, 2012). Some researchers have identified authenticity in terms of the ingredients which are distinct to a region (Sims, 2009; Youn and Kim, 2017). Others argue that food authenticity is about the processes used to prepare a cuisine (Richard and Clifford, 2012). Food practices may be claimed to be authentic too because they are aligned to particular heritage (Beer, 2008; Sims, 2009; Youn and Kim, 2017).

Of particular significance to this thesis, is the idea that food is a vehicle that enables people to create authentic relationships with a culture, tradition or group (Robinson and Clifford 2012). Authenticity can manifest in the family home (Moisio et al., 2004), but also in places where cultural ambience is present such as restaurants with the signifiers of authenticity being both food and the use of other products other than food to communicate authenticity (Carroll and Torfason, 2011, Robinson and Clifford, 2012; Kovacs et al., 2017).

When people dine out, they partake in identity formation. Restaurants that attempt to create varying degrees of authenticity and market this as part of their identity enable

these identities to be developed (Carroll and Wheaton, 2009; Kovacs, et al., 2017; Baker and Kim, 2018). These do not have to be real. Indeed, some researchers have argued that consumers know that most organisations use terms such as *authentic* for self-promotion and manipulation. Their audiences (or some of them) may accept many aspects of the 'self-projected identity of authenticity' as an 'illusion of authenticity' (Kovacs, et al., 2017, p. 82).

### 3.9.3 Eating out - Ethnic Restaurants

The environment where food service is provided to consumers is referred to as a 'servicescape' (Bitner 1992; Rezende and Silva, 2014). The ethnic restaurant is a specific servicescape where people publicly present their ethnicity or explore that of 'others'. Burnett's (2013) '*Plenty and Want; a social history of food in England from 1815 to the present day"* and Burnett's (2004) '*England eats out: a social history of eating out in England from 1830 to present'* have made significant contributions to our understanding of the development of food practices in Britain. Panayi's (2008) book *'Spicing up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food'* complements these and gives a different perspective albeit covering similar periods looking at both eating at home and eating out.

Eating out has grown due to changes in incomes, family structures, more women joining the labour force (Cullen, 1994) and changes in lifestyles and the development of technology (Cobanoglu et al., 2015). According to Warde & Martens (2000), initially eating out was associated with convenience and utility. Now, due to busy lives, many are resorting to eating out to recoup time by avoiding the preparation, cooking and cleaning. This has led to new symbolic meanings being ascribed to these experiences. These eating out experiences are therefore for pleasure more than for necessity. Many

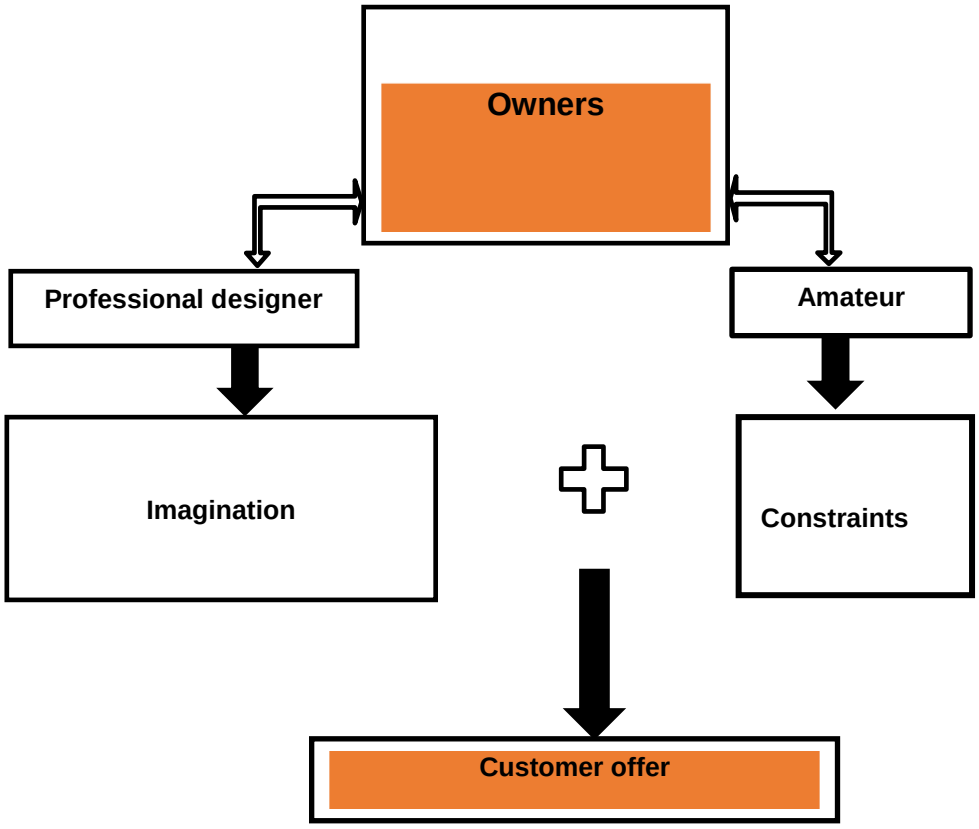
households see eating out as an experience which enables the maintenance of social connections (Warde, et al., 2007; Rezende & Silva, 2014; Paddock et al., 2017).

Studies in Europe and the US have focused on upmarket restaurants and the influences of celebrity chefs (Rao et al., 2003; Lane, 2011). However, there have been some studies focused on regional, national and ethnic restaurants (Berris & Sutton, 2007; Panayi, 2008; Lu et al., 2015) and the eating out experience (Warde & Martens, 2000; Warde, 2016; Paddock et al., 2017). Rezende and Silva (2014) pointed out that eating out is experiential consumption which is imbued with symbolic meanings that trigger emotions, aesthetics and hedonistic responses. With these developments, restaurants are moving away from a service-based economy to experience-based operations. Restaurant owners are willing to cook food in 'traditional' ways to attract customers seeking this 'authentic' food experience (Lu, Gursoy, & Lu, 2015). To enhance these experience-based forms of consumption, emotional responses are part of the attraction of ethnically themed restaurants. Ethnicity, therefore, becomes a product that is sold by businesses and consumed by customers(Holbrook, 1993; Lu & Fine, 1995; Elliot et al., 2015).

Beardsworth & Bryman (1999) discuss how symbolic and emotional meanings are captured in the visual images, flavours, fragrances, sounds and tactile experiences during meal consumption. The ethnic restaurant space is a deliberately designed and constructed space to achieve this. In the ethnic restaurant staged authenticity involves the restaurants using *"ethnic art, decor, music, external façade, name, and various stereotyped signals to create a distinctive setting which lays claim to being a reflection of some exotic but recognizable culture"* (p. 242). It is considered to be '*that which is accepted to be genuine or real'* (Taylor, 1991; p. 17).

The meal experience can have multiple meanings to different people who patronise these restaurants (Hanefors & Mossberg, 2003; Ebster & Guist, 2004; Rezende and Silva, 2014). Eating in themed restaurants too can be used to differentiate social groups (Warde and Martens, 2000; Morgan et al., 2008; Jang & Ha, 2015). For migrants the ethnic restaurant may be a symbolic representation of a diasporic 'home'. where there are constraints to adapt and innovate which means that the *'continuity of an ethnic food tradition is possible, maintaining for the ethnic group a distinctive place in public arena'* (Lu & Fine, 1995, p. 541). To encourage this the owners of ethnic restaurants can either use professional or amateur designers to create their restaurant space. Figure 3.2 below shows a representation of what is involved in the design process.

**Figure 3.2 Design process for construction of restaurant space**




**Source:** Developed by the author (2020)

In Figure 3.2 above, designers are given a brief by the owner or the owner-designer decides themselves the kind of a restaurant they want to be designed and then imagination is used in the process of designing. Constraints can hinder the restaurant owner from achieving their goals. These could be the availability of space for the construction or renovations of the themed restaurant or the regulations regarding food hygiene. When the restaurant owner and designers manage to overcome these constraints with their imagination, they can deliver their ethnic restaurant propositions to their customer. To understand how eating food experience works, two models were considered. The 4M model was developed originally to understand the consumer decision process prior to a meal encounter or experience (Kivits et al., 2011; Richard, 2012; Kleinhans et al., 2019). The model has four meta-constructs that include, moment, mood, meal and money. Table 3.2 shows the components of the 4M model.

**Table 3.2 4M Model; Meta and Sub-meta Constructs**

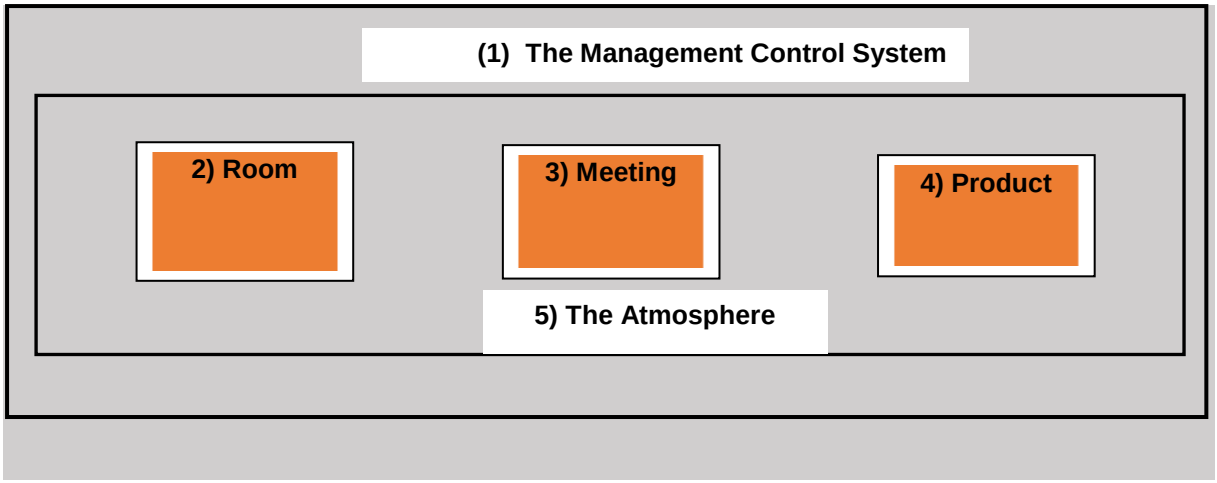
| **Meta-constructs** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Moment** | **Mood** | **Meal** | **Money** |
| Food availability | Alertness | Colour | Costs |
| Awareness | Emotional/ psychological state | Quality of food | Food price |
| Cultural habits | Stress | Quality of service | Pricing methods |
| Hunger | Tiredness | temperature | Customers levels of income |
| Impulse | | Texture | Income (supplier) |
| Timing conventions | | What the restaurant offers | |

**Source:** Kivits et al. (2011)

Before the consumer chooses to eat food, their decision making is influenced by biological, physiological, cultural and psychological factors. Their mood is influenced by their biological/physiological state. Cultural, emotional and psychological elements are also influential. The meal means different things to different people. This may mean the taste, temperature and colour. People have to pay for the food and other economic aspects may vary to some degree according to the markets served (Kivits et al., 2011).

Gustafsson et al., (2006) suggests that the FAMM (Five Aspects of Meal Model) is a better general framework for analysing meal experience in restaurants. This is illustrated in Figure 3.3.

**Figure 3.3 Five Aspects of The Meal Model (FAMM)**




**Source:** Gustafsson et al., (2006)

(1) The management control system includes the knowledge of running the restaurant, adhering to rules and regulations, good leadership that understand their migrant customers, the cost of food which is reflected in the menu prices presented to customers (Gustafsson et al., 2006; Magnusson et al., 2013). Management control systems can be difficult for small restaurants. Chain

restaurants have the knowledge and the capabilities emanating from their experiences and the financial ability to employ consultants to help them develop strategies.

(2) The room includes the interior and exterior, the décor, textiles, architectural style and these are assumed to have an impact on the ethnic restaurant meal experiences.

(3) The meeting involves the interactions in the room. These do not only refer to staff and customers interactions but also includes customer to customer interactions. Service staff's knowledge of cuisines and the service they render is on importance in ethnic food restaurants as this enhances the meal experiences of the customers.

(4) The product consists of the food and the beverages served in the restaurant. On display are the skills of the chefs on how they transform food into dishes that are appealing and appetising to the customers. The taste of the food, the visual effects, should meet the customer expectations.

(5) The eventual outcome when all the elements of room, meeting, product and management control system are the atmosphere (Carlback, 2008; Justesen & Overgaard, 2017).

Since the model was developed for the analysis of fine dining, some of its components will be adapted here to suit the ethnic restaurants. The proposed adaptation is set out in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3 The Adapted FAMM model**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Management Control Systems** | | | |
| **1** | **Type of restaurant** | Chain, single outlet | |
| **2** | **Name** | | |
| **3** | **Advertising** | Traditional<br>Social media | |
| **The room** | | | |
| **4** | **The size** | Capacity | |
| **5** | **The Décor** | Internal | Appearance |
| **6** | **Sound** | | |
| **The Meeting** | | | |
| **7** | **Target customers** | Income | |
| **8** | **Staffing** | Kitchen staff and food preparation | |
| **The Product** | | | |
| **9** | **Menu** | Presentation<br>Food<br>Portion size (paragraph) | Image and symbols |
| **10** | **How food is consumed?** | What is food served on Knives, forks, fingers?<br>How is food given out and how do people eat it: knives forks, fingers? | |
| **The External** | | | |
| **11** | **The Building** | | Appearance |
| **12** | **The outside space** | The layout, the equipment | |
| **13** | **Location** | Physical location | |
| **The Atmosphere** | | | |

**Source:** Adapted FAMM model (Gustafsson et al., 2006)

The operationalisation suggested here includes the inclusion of the 'external' nature of the restaurant building which was not regarded as an important element of analysis in most of the meal experience models. Meal experience models have also been criticised for being too generic and static (Kivits et al., 2011).

### 3.10 Chapter Summary

The chapter has surveyed the relevant literature on the concept of *identity* in general and *national identity* in particular. 'Nation' is Anderson's (2006) *'imagined community'* based in part on *systems of representation.* One way in which a nation is '*imagined'* and brought into reality by citizens is through their everyday *banal activities* such as food consumption patterns. The chapter has also pointed to the value of consumer culture theory and its explorations of how consumers *symbolically* consume products provided in the marketplace to *construct identity*. Consumer *acculturation* literature also introduced the importance of acquiring new skills and behaviours and the eclectic process of learning and the selective display of *consumption skills,* knowledge and behaviour.

Migration and diaspora theory provide for understanding why people migrate and form *diaspora* communities in migrant-receiving countries. The literature shows that the diaspora community struggles with the notion of maintaining connections with their *'homeland'* which they left. The concepts of *memory* and *nostalgia* illustrated the *'home'* that migrants might miss but *'home'* is not fixed. It can be a 'floating signifier'. The food experience literature identifies and discusses how that food patterns can be symbolically used by individuals to show their ethnic identities. One way that people can display their ethnic identity is eating out publicly in ethnic restaurants which aspire to *authenticity.*

The next chapter now turns to the research methodology used to collect the primary data to be used to explore the Zimbabwean inbetweeners' identity construction in Britain.

# CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

## 4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter reviewed the concepts of and literature on identity, memory, nostalgia and food consumption and eating out in themed restaurants. This chapter discusses the research methodology underpinning this study. The research questions for this thesis are restated here.

| Research Questions | |
|---|---|
| *RQ 1:* | What types of food consumption do the inbetweeners experience? |
| *RQ 2*: | How do they make sense of their food consumption experiences? |
| *RQ 3* | How does the ethnic restaurant impact on their sense of identity, and enable them to deal with any tensions they experience? |

Research methodology is the collection of methods or rules adhered to by the researcher when they undertake research (Somekh & Lewin, 2011). One component of a research design is the research's underlying *philosophy* (Wilson, 2009; Jackson, 2013). The second aspect of research design is the research *approach*. The third and most essential aspect focuses on the research *strategy* which includes the *sampling strategy*, *data collection* methods, *analysis* and so forth. Finally, this chapter discusses some of the weaknesses and strengths of the techniques and methods adopted in this study.

## 4.2 Research Philosophy

Burrell & Morgan (1979) in their important discussion of how business is studied suggested that there are core philosophical ideas that need to be considered when the researcher decides to undertake research activity. The research paradigms discussed in this study include ontology, epistemology, positivism, interpretivism, constructionism and social constructionism. *Ontology* addresses the nature of reality; what things, if any, have existence or whether their reality is a product of the human mind (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Easterby-Smith, 2010; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). Objectivism and subjectivism (realism and relativism) are the two most discussed research ontologies (Blaikie 2007). These philosophies are at opposite ends of a continuum. Objectivism in social research suggests that reality is concrete. It subscribes to realism which argues that there is a single truth that exists and can be revealed. Subjectivism, on the other hand, argues for multiple truths. It suggests that reality is a projection of the imagination of humans, including the researcher, who imposes meanings on things (Holden & Lynch, 2004; Levers, 2013). Subjectivism can lead to complete relativism, which views truth as dependent on the researcher.

*Epistemology* addresses how knowledge is created, acquired and communicated or *'what it means to know'*. Epistemology asks questions such as '*what is the nature of the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known?*' (Scotland, 2012,p.9). Positivism is an epistemological approach that argues that human behaviour should be studied in the same way as the natural sciences (Bryman, 2016; Creswell & Poth, 2016; Denzin and Lincoln, 2019). Positivism seeks to understand the facts or causes of a social phenomenon. It considers that facts are not influenced by the researcher but exist independently (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Scotland, 2012; Ormston et al., 2016).

Interpretivism perceives people, perceptions, and understanding as primary sources of data (Bryman, 2016). Interpretivism argues that it is human beings who create subjective meanings and values, so, the social world cannot be studied in the same way as physical phenomena. Different subjective meanings develop because people have a different perspective to phenomena due to differences in backgrounds, circumstances and timing (Silverman, 2015; Saunders et al., 2019).

Social constructionism suggests that human actors create and negotiate meanings. Both constructionism and interpretivism share the objective of understanding lived experiences (Blaikie 2007). Galbin (2014) argues that social actors are responsible for the construction of their reality during their social interactions. They interpret their social actions and experiences, the actions of others and the context in which these social actions occur. The role of the researcher is to interpret the social actors' actions and create knowledge that is built on social actors' perception of reality. Research underpinned with a constructionist philosophy thus sees multiple realities where context is important (Crotty, 1998, Easterby-Smith et al., 2015; Saunders et al., 2019). Social constructionism is radical as it interprets the world through language and culture. Language makes thoughts possible and it structures experience while culture is the lens used to give meanings and to make sense of the world (Crotty, 1998; Blaikie, 2007; Burr, 2015). Different meanings emanate from different historical-cultural backgrounds, varying circumstances and times, creating our subjective social realities (Blaikie, 2007; Burr, 2015). Social constructionism is not concerned with ontological issues but is more concerned with the nature of knowledge (Andrews, 2012).

### 4.3 Justification for Research Philosophical Choice

Social constructionism as a research philosophy has been adopted for this study. Food consumption even though real, does not have knowledge of itself. It is humans who give food meaning and this varies dynamically based on their various perceptions, circumstances and experiences. Social constructionists cannot collect food 'facts' to measure patterns, they explore the different meanings and constructions placed by people on their experiences (Blaikie, 2007; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). Positivism is also not used in this research because there were no pre-existing hypotheses to be tested using quantitative methods. Instead, this research is interested in exploring each individual's context-specific food experiences.

Burr (2015) suggests that social constructionism opposes the essentialism that argues that things are given. An essentialist might say things such as colour can be precisely defined. If it can, then a paint chart can be used to measure whether the colour is white a shade of white or yellow. Such a view suggests that colours can be put in different categories. This may not even be true of colour. The value of social constructionism for this thesis is that it is largely concerned with the many things that do not have an essence. Table 4.1 below identifies examples of concepts used in the thesis that are not fixed and stable, as essentialists would perceive them.

**Table 4.1 Examples of floating signifiers**

| Concept | Example |
|---|---|
| Region identity<br>National identity<br>Tribal identity<br>Migrant | Africanness/ Southern Africanness<br>Zimbabwean/British<br>Ndebele/ Shona/ Zulu<br>Zimbabwean migrant |
| | |
| Race | Black/ White |
| Community | Zimbabwean – British |
| Diaspora | Zimbabwean |
| Home | Zimbabwe/ U.K. |
| | |
| Traditions | The way of preparing foodstuff |
| Authenticity | Claims of Zimbabwean/ British food |
| | |
| National cuisine | British, Southern Africa, Zimbabwean |

**Source:** Developed by the author (2020)

While an essentialist might think these concepts are real, the social constructionist explores their multiple meanings (Blaikie, 2007; Burr, 2015). One way of thinking about this is to use the concept of the floating signifier. A floating signifier is a concept used in semiotics and discourse analysis. It refers to the things which have no single meaning. The examples used in Table 4.1 are examples of such floating signifiers. Floating signifiers can also be non-linguistic signs. For example, in this thesis, visual images, drawings, symbols, photographs and advertisements have been used to convey meanings of identity, ethnicity and food consumption

## 4.4 Research Approach

Research approaches can be divided into deductive, inductive and abductive (Blaikie, 2007; Saunders et al., 2019). A deductive approach is associated with quantitative research and is also referred to as the '*hypothetico-deductive'* method (Blaikie, 2007, p. 71). It is associated with testing hypotheses. A deductive approach derives a

hypothesis from logic which then is tested through experiments and surveys (Gray, 2019; Saunders et al., 2019). This approach is relevant to some aspects of food research. However, this research does not intend to test such aspects of food consumption but rather to look for meanings in it.

The inductive approach is normally associated with qualitative research methods. With an inductive approach, theoretical explanations are developed as the data is collected and analysed allowing conclusions to be developed from research observations (Polit & Beck, 2010; Gray, 2019). The emerging data from the findings become the basis of theory development. The inductive approach does not rely on identifying any pre-existing theoretical position although the researcher can familiarise themselves with theory in the chosen area of research (Bryman, 2016; Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Gray, 2019). One problem with this approach is the fact that one cannot start research without some ideas relating to the problem, the questions to ask and who to ask these questions. However, this was chosen because it allowed the researcher to use the comments made by the respondents to create knowledge. This research adopts the inductive approach to understand the impact of food consumption on the inbetweeners identity.

The abductive approach was initially identified as a method for generating hypotheses in the natural sciences. New developments have seen the abductive approach being '*advocated as the appropriate method of theory development in interpretive social sciences*' (Blaikie, 2007, p. 88). Abductive reasoning is meant to overcome the weaknesses of both deductive and inductive positions. It attempts to make the development of social phenomenon less puzzling and converts surprising facts into a '*matter of course'* (Bell et al., 2019, p. 25). Blaikie (2007) suggests that abductive theory emanates from the language, the meanings, and accounts in the context of the

social actors' everyday activities, as they navigate their everyday lives as they interact with each other. Most importantly, an abductive research strategy accepts that these everyday interpretations and meanings are used to develop a theory (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012; Tavory & Timmermans, 2014). Hence it is the social interactions of the social actors and the observer that are producing the sense of reality. Blaikie (2007) says of humans,

> *'their reality, the way they have constructed and interpreted their activities together is embedded in their everyday language'* (p.10).

This shows the importance of language in the construction of reality which may differ between people. Blaikie (2007) adds that the researcher aims to discover the motives, actions and the accompanying activities to develop a theory which can be tested (see also Timmermans and Tavory, 2012; Tavory and Timmermans, 2014). This may involve unravelling symbolic meanings and the shared knowledge that shapes the daily actions of the social actors. Most of these activities are taken for granted by the social actors and they only become aware of their actions when inquiries are made about their actions by others (Blaikie, 2007).

### 4.5 Research Strategy

Warde (2014) suggested that past 'paradigm wars' were and are unnecessary especially in the field of food research. Methodological purity where one method is cast as best is detrimental to '*knowledge formation and the complexity of alimentary life*' Warde (2014, p.51).

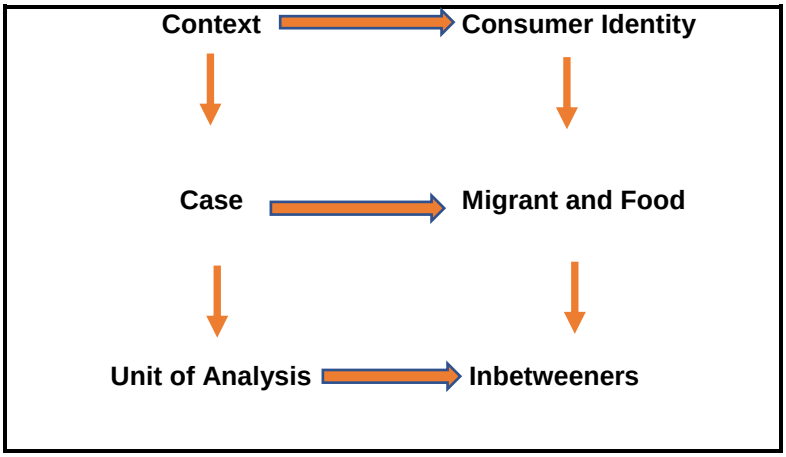
To gain an understanding, this research adopts a case study approach. Yin (2014) defined a case study as follows:

> *'... an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident (p. 16).*

Abma & Stake (2014) indicated that the aim of a case study, as a research method, is to unravel the complexity of one demarcated entity. Case studies have the ability to offer an in-depth analysis of 'cases' as they are studied in their context. A case study can be an intensive analysis of a community, family, group or organization in a particular location (Cronin, 2014; Bryman, 2016; Gray, 2019; Yin, 2018).

According to Yin (2018), there are various scenarios suitable for case study approach. These include when the research question is the 'how' and 'why' of contemporary events over which the researcher has no control of the behavioural outcomes (Gray, 2019). Much qualitative research focuses on exploring in depth a single 'case' often described as '*some phenomenon embedded in a single social setting'* (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 26). In fact, by focusing on a small group or event, this provides the researcher with a rich picture of the life and behaviour of a people or event or issue at hand (Yin, 2018; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). Since food consumption and identity construction are situational events they must be understood and explained in their environment if the researcher intends to gain a deeper understanding. This is why the importance of context is emphasised in this study. Figure 4.1 below shows the elements of the case study research design in this study identifying the case and the unit of analysis.

**Figure 4.1 Elements of the case study research design**




**Source:** Adapted from Newman (2015)

In a case study research design, the 'case' needs to be defined. This is sometimes be referred to as *'bounding the case'* (Yin, 2018, p.31). This research case study is bound in the U.K and around the concept of food among a migrant group whom this research refers to as the 'inbetweeners'. Researchers adopting a case study design also emphasise the importance of the concept of 'unit of analysis' (Grunbaum 2007). This is a developing concept and there are some ambiguities between the unit of analysis and the case that many researchers have tried to explain. It was not the position of this study to justify these differences and therefore, following Newman (2015), the unit of analysis was identified as the inbetweeners while the case being that of migrant food consumption patterns. The unit of analysis is defined as the major entity that a researcher uses in analysing their study (Grunbaum, 2007). For this thesis the unit of analysis are the inbetweeners because the aim of thesis is to understand the impact of food consumption patterns on their identity project. The fact that their consumer socialisation experience was split between the UK and Zimbabwe makes them a espeically interesting group to investigate in this thesis. Their consumer socialisation was cut short in Zimbabwe but then reignited in the UK. Secondly, they migrated to

the UK not out of their choice but to be join their parents. They then faced the pressures of adapting to new food patterns in the UK as children and teenagers and are now adults with some having started their own families.

There are some problems with case study research design which must be recognised. It has been criticised for a lack of rigour. Researchers who adopt this method are said not to follow systematic procedures and said by critics to be subjective and biased when they present their findings and conclusions of research (Yin, 2014; 2018).

### 4.6 Methodological choices

A researcher has to choose either a single data collection technique and the accompanying analysis procedures (mono methods) or they may opt to use more than one data collection technique (multi method) to address the research questions (Saunders, 2019).

#### 4.6.1 Quantitative Research

There have been many of debates on qualitative and quantitative approaches for many decades (Mahoney and Goertz, 2006). This thesis does not attempt to resolve this debate, but aspects significant for this research are discussed in detail. A quantitative study primarily uses numerical methods during the research process. Whereas, qualitative research adopts exploratory approaches to investigate phenomena, enabling it to produce textual data instead of measurements and numbers (Denzin and Lincoln, 2019; Saunders et al., 2019). A quantitative research strategy focuses on developing hypotheses which are then tested to confirm theory which is further generalised (Arghode, 2012; Goertz and Mahoney, 2013). In this research quantitative data was not used since there was no developed hypothesis to test. In fact, food experiences are personal and they are difficult to generalise to the general population. Surveys also

suffer from different types of respondent bias, especially on sensitive issues around food. Even the most rigorous surveys are known to have social desirability bias deficiencies (Krumpal, 2013). Accessing meanings of human behaviour requires subtle methods which are unlikely to be accessed when surveys are adopted in a research. Surveys access the quick answers which are consciously available cognitions that are not influential in driving the human behaviour. Explicit questions in surveys give participants limited space to express their feelings, emotions and experiences that drive their behaviour whereas qualitative research method allows for the participants to express themselves in their own words (Mahoney and Goertz, 2013). Since there were no developed hypothesis to test qualitative research was adopted to gain a better understanding of the experiences of the Zimbabwean inbetweeners. The research did not intend to generalise these findings, but rather, to understand these inbetweeners experiences.

### 4.6.2 Qualitative Research

A qualitative approach is acknowledged as the appropriate method of research to studying social life and is equipped to construct social reality (Mahoney and Goertz, 2006; Goertz and Mahoney, 2013). This research approach is of significance when the research is set to explore the close relationship between what is studied, how lived experiences are constructed, given meanings by collecting data from events, occurrences, behaviours and activities in their social context (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2019). These contextualised data collection methods indicate that data makes no sense when isolated from context. Therefore, describing life worlds from the participants' point of view and in their settings enables social multiple realities (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Lincoln and Guba (1985), in their pioneering work, mentioned that constructionists select qualitative methods over quantitative due to approach’s

ability to deal with multiple realities instead of the single realities advocated for by quantitative researchers (Mahoney and Goertz, 2006; Maxwell, 2010). Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that this method,

> "*exposes more directly the nature of the transaction between the*" researcher and the informant "*and hence make easier an assessment of the extent to which the phenomenon is described in terms of (is biased) the investigator's own posture" (p. 40).*

Qualitative research collects data through interviews, observations, introspection and opinions of the individuals in order to understand the subject being researched (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2019; Denzin and Lincoln, 2019). In addition, qualitative research methods explore the fluid and holistic opinions of individuals concerning the phenomena being investigated in the context of their experiences and the unique phenomena being studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2019). This research adopted a qualitative method to understand the many contextualised individual's food consumption experiences, interviews were used to gather information about the experiences of the respondents.

Qualitative semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to gain access to the individualised food experiences with respondents expressing themselves in their own words and in their environment. These individualised experiences, drawn from interviews cannot be generalised, but are specific to these Zimbabwean inbetweeners.

Due to this understanding, the researcher acknowledges multiple realities and also accepts that another researcher may find different realities in a different context (Blaikie, 2007). The qualitative researchers' assumptions in a research need to be visible as they mediate and negotiate the findings with the respondents' thereby co-constructing knowledge (Ormston et al., 2014). These co-constructions influence the

research's multiple realities unlike the independent realities from objective observations acknowledged by quantitative research strategy (Roger, et al., 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2019).

### 4.6.3 Mixed methods Research

The mixed methods approach has its origins in the psychological work of (Campbell and Fiske, 1959). The debate around the use of mixed methods has been that all research methods have weaknesses and strengths. By using both qualitative *and* quantitative approaches these weaknesses countered (Jick, 1979**;** Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Researchers have embraced new comprehensive methodologies capable of dealing with today's research problems which are more complex (Huberman & Miles, 2002; Wheeldon, 2010). According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005), researchers using mixed methods argue that it brings flexibility to the study because they are not obliged to start either by theory nor observations during the research process. Such research method provides a variety of choices, approaches and options (Johnson et al., 2004).

The mixed method approach does not negate the importance of both qualitative and quantitative research but reflects the idea that the research questions should determine the methods used (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The wider argument around the use of mixed methods is that the use of different methods strengthens the research study. Social phenomena are complex and they require the use of different methods in order to unpack these complexities (Greene & Caracelli, 1997). However, for this to be appropriate it must be possible to formulate some hypotheses that can be tested before they are combined.

The reasons for preferring a qualitative interview approach to some combination of mixed qualitative and quantitative methods here is threefold. Firstly, it would not be possible to get a representative sample for any quantitative study due to the difficulty in locating respondents. The inbetweeners characteristics also meant that identifying them through surveys would have been difficult, hence, qualitative sampling method of snowball worked better. Secondly, the nature of the issues explored required an investigation of issues on the basis of rich contextual data that could only be gained through interview data. Thirdly, to carry out this study there was a need for this researcher to establish good trust relationships with the respondents especially due to the inbetweeners immigration status. Trust was regarded as an important issue and this was attained through face to face communication just before interviews which would have been difficult if quantitative research had been adopted. Hence qualitative research was regarded the best in this thesis.

## 4.7 Data Collection

### 4.7.1 Interviews

Qualitative research collects data through interviews, observations, introspection and consideration of the opinions of the individuals to understand the subject being studied (Saunders et al., 2019). To understand these food patterns, interviews were recognised as an important data collection process because the individual experience in food consumption are captured in this process. During the interviews, the respondents were able to explain in their own words their perceptions, acquisition of skills and how they have dealt with new foods since arriving in the U.K.

Table 4.2 below shows how the data source addressed the research questions.

**Table 4.2 Data Source and Research Questions**

| Research question | Interview Justification |
|---|---|
| 1) What types of food consumption do inbetweeners experience? | **Interviews** provided in-depth individual accounts of the Zimbabwean inbetweeners on their food experience. |
| 2) How do they make sense of their food consumption experiences? | **Interviews** enabled the researcher to access the individual and group food experiences including the restaurants and how they have symbolically use these to construct their identity. |
| 3) How does ethnic restaurant impact on their sense of identity, and negotiate any tensions they experience? | **Interviews** enabled the researcher to associate some of the comments made by the respondents with regards to their trips to some of these restaurants. |

**Source:** Adapted from (Mason, 2006)

### 4.7.2.1 Justification for the use of Interviews

Traditional qualitative research tends to use either focus groups or interviews to generate data. A focus group is a group of people brought together by researchers to discuss a topic organized for research purposes. Gill et al., (2008) argue that focus groups are suitable when the researcher is seeking to understand collective views and the meanings underpinning them. Most importantly, such groups have a moderator who controls the progress of the discussions. These focus groups have some common features with unstructured interviews except that they tend to be made up of a homogenous group of people (Gill et al., 2008; Saunders et al., 2019). However, focus groups are difficult to coordinate and a problem when the topic is sensitive. This can make the participants uncomfortable to share their feelings and opinions openly (Bloor et al., 2001).

In qualitative research, interviews have been extensively used and are recognized as an essential research method (Saunders et al., 2019). Interviews can go below the surface of a topic and interactively explore the individual's experiences. Interviews are selected here because of the problem of finding ‘inbetweener’ respondents in the UK and bringing them together. Fear of the British authorities is prevalent among the Zimbabwean migrant community so interviews were a better option as trust could be gained prior to the interview. Interviews were perceived to be the best way of gaining insight into a respondent's perspective and understanding of their experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Saunders et al., 2019). Interviews are the appropriate method to investigate social phenomena where little is already known and deeper individual experiences are required. In addition, interviews enable the researcher to explore sensitive topics that participants may not feel comfortable to discuss in a focus group discussion (Schultz & Avital, 2011; Brinkmann, 2013; Denzin and Lincoln 2019). They allow the development of ‘*thick descriptions of a given social world analysed for cultural patterns and themes*’ (Warren, 2002, p. 85).

There are three types of interviews in qualitative research. These are structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010; Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). In a structured interview, the questions asked to the respondents do not vary. These questions have a given order which produces standardized interview data. The disadvantage is that they are rigid and not flexible in meeting the needs of each respondent. They do not allow the researcher to ask varying questions according to the nature of respondents, for example, their gender. They do not also allow the researcher to ask further questions in developing topics of interest to the research. So, by their nature, these interviews offer limited responses and may lack depth when used (Gill et al., 2008; Stuckey, 2013).

Unstructured interviews may be used to explore one or two issues in research in greater detail (Zhang & Wildemuth 2009). Such interviews start with general questions that generate further questions and responses. They are designed to access the respondents' experiences and their inner views, attitudes and feelings about social phenomena. They are mostly used in research where little is known about the issue being studied. Due to their lack of organization many respondents find them difficult and they can be time-consuming (Gill et al., 2008; Doody & Noonan, 2013).

Semi-structured interviews are based on open-ended questions. (Holloway and Wheeler 2010) During these interviews, respondents may diverge to pursue an idea under investigation in more detail (Britten, 1995; Doody and Noonan, 2013). Noble and Smith (2015) stress that the importance of semi-structured interviews is that they '*allow for a repeated revisiting of the data to check emerging themes and remain true to the participants' accounts*' (p. 35). This means that the research can explore social phenomena depending on the information from respondents (Gill et al., 2008).

Semi-structured interviews were selected here as a means of data collection due to these considerations. They enabled the researcher to gather specific data by following-up with more probing questions to develop initial answers. These individual interviews also reduced social desirability bias which can be experienced in group interviews hindering the quality of data. Most importantly, the use of semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to probe further where he deemed fit to obtain significant information.

### 4.8 Ensuring Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

In their frequently republished standard work, Lincoln and Guba (1985) first posed the question on rigour in qualitative research as follows:

> '*How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, and worth taking into account of?'* (p. 290).

Rigour was identified to be of importance to challenge the perception of qualitative as being 'soft' (Cope, 2014; Morse, 2018). Since qualitative research uses diverse interpretative methods to examine and understand people's experiences using non-numerical methods, it is important to reduce the likelihood of subjectivity and bias (Polit & Beck, 2010; White, 2016).

The terms of reliability, internal validity, objectivity and generalizability as a way of describing trustworthiness in quantitative research have been redefined for qualitative research. The terms commonly suggested for qualitative research rigour are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Thomas and Magilvy, 2011; White, 2016). Figure 4.3 below shows the qualitative research rigour terms and the strategies employed in this research to achieve trustworthiness.

**Table 4.3 Qualitative Research Rigour**

| Qualitative | Strategy employed | Operational techniques |
|---|---|---|
| Credibility | Auditing, data transcripts | The researcher is the research instrument. Reflexivity, prolonged data engagement |
| Transferability | Context described | Thick description (context) |
| Dependability | Auditing and tape recorder transcript | Audit trail |
| Confirmability | Auditing | Audit trail |

**Source:** Tuckett (2005) and Bell et al., (2019)

### 4.8.1 Research Credibility

Credibility is normally partly defined as internal consistency in research (Cope, 2014). This is ‘how we assure rigour in the research process and how we communicate to others that we have done so' (Gasson, 2004, p. 95). An important aspect of this is self-awareness on the part of the researcher. With reflexivity, the researcher tries to identify and acknowledge the areas and the experiences of respondents on the research phenomenon. According to Shenton (2014), one way of ensuring credibility is through a prolonged engagement with the data and this is a strategy that ensures the maintenance of reflexivity (Anney, 2014; Cope, 2014).

For this thesis, the researcher spent a prolonged engagement with the data in various ways. Most importantly, the researcher carried out the interviews and the transcription of the interview data. The researcher listened to the recorded interviews at least three times before he began to transcribe each interview. After transcribing the data, the researcher read through each transcript whilst listening to the recording to ensure that there were no mistakes in the transcripts. The coding and theme development processes also required that the researcher spend a lot more time going through the data, creating these codes and themes iteratively which enables the researcher to interact with the different stages of data collection.

The researcher also shared similar migration experiences with the respondents. Having migrated to the UK, this positioned the researcher as an insider able to benefit from this experience. The researcher was able to access the respondents more easily by explaining the personal reasons why he was in the UK. The researcher had himself arrived in the UK fearing persecution from the Mugabe regime but as an economic migrant who was also seeking to pursue his studies. Generally, these were the reasons why most Zimbabweans had migrated to the UK so the insider element

resonated with the respondent's experiences. Due to this understanding, the researcher was able to communicate at a level that the respondents could connect with. This removed part of their fear that the researcher might be a Zimbabwean secret service agent.

Iterative questioning including the use of probing and rephrased questioning strategy enhance research credibility (Shenton, 2014). This iterative questioning enabled the researcher to probe the respondents with follow up questions to deliberately uncover truths. This was coupled with the researcher rephrasing some of the research questions. For example, one question initially read: can you explain how your food experiences in the UK have been affected by your move from Zimbabwe. The rephrased question was: in your current eating patterns can you explain the impact of other foods now that you have in the UK for a few years now.

### 4.8.2 Research Transferability

Transferability is the extent to which the research findings may be generalised. Thus, ‘how far a researcher may make claims for a general application of their theory' becomes very important in research (Gasson, 2004 p. 98). A researcher needs to provide sufficient contextual information to support the generalisation of the findings (White 2016). Any transferability depends on the degree of similarities between the two contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Polit & Beck, 2010). There is the need also to give a clear description of the research context and the respondents' information, so that other researchers may make their judgment of transferability (Bryman, 2016; White, 2016). The research context of this study follows Shenton’s (2014) suggestion which argues that context should be provided from the onset. The contextual information of this research provides the baseline understanding with which other

research results will be compared (Shenton, 2014). Table 4.4 below shows how the contextual issues were to enhance transferability.

**Table 4.4 Addressing Contextual Issues in the Research**

| Question | Process |
|---|---|
| Accurate number and location of the organizations participating in the research. | Three restaurants were chosen. These restaurants purport to provide Southern African cuisine. Nando's chain restaurant in the U.K with its roots in South Africa. The Nando's analysed in this research is based in Wednesfield in Wolverhampton. Nakira is based in Birmingham city centre. e'Khaya is located in Dudley just outside the town centre. Both Nakira and e'Khaya are single restaurants operated by Zimbabwean migrants living in the UK. |
| Boundaries of respondents to participate in the research. | The respondents are Zimbabweans who migrated to the U.K between 2000-2006. These Zimbabweans had their parents living in the U.K already and the respondents came to join the. |
| The number of respondents taking part in the research. | 16 respondents were identified using the snowball sampling method. |
| How data was collected | The data was collected using the interviews in their workplaces, homes and a few had to make a trip to come to Wolverhampton University. Snowball sampling was used to collect interview data. The ethnic restaurant data was collected from their; contextual information – websites and general business analysis and photographs taken by customers and posted online. Visits to see the buildings and décor, formal signs, names, logos and symbols. The researcher also visited to access some of the menus. |
| The number and duration of data collection sessions | Interviews lasted between 45- 60 minutes and sixteen of these were held. The interviews were held over six months.<br>Store visits to collect menu and symbolic representation data lasted at most fifteen to twenty |

| | |
|---|---|
| | minutes since the researcher went there not to eat but identify and collect data in the form of images. |
| The length of time the data collection was carried out. | The data collection process lasted one year. |

**Source:** Adapted from (Shenton, 2004)

### 4.9.3 Research Dependability

Dependability and credibility may have overlapping elements with the latter going '*some distance to ensure the former'* (Shenton, 2004, p. 71). To ensure dependability the research methods are reported in detail. To validate the data collection methods and eliminate bias, the researcher recorded the semi-structured interviews. The questions used are given in an Appendix.

The rephrasing of questions, the probing questions associated with semi-structured interviews and the transcribing were used by the researcher to facilitate dependability in data collection methods used in this research. Each transcript was checked against the recorded data for accuracy.

### 4.9.4 Confirmability

Confirmability of the research has been achieved through various means. The audit trail of this research was enabled through the use of NVivo 10 software. It provides a comprehensive trail of decisions made by the researcher during data collection and analysis stages (Houghton, et al., 2017). The interview transcripts were uploaded in NVivo 10 software and the analysis that was carried out using this software providing records for the decisions made during the data analysis. In NVivo 10 software, the location of all the interview data and the passages are m**a**tched to the criteria that set queries and codes (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). By locating these, the research ensured that the issues and themes described in the research findings were not the

sole perceptions of the researcher. Two types of query methods were used in the research; text search query and coding. With a text search query, the research identified concepts in the data after the analysis was carried out. This was done to check if the concepts were coded accurately or to ascertain if there was a need to carry out further investigation to ensure that the data was correctly analysed. For example, the Word Cloud in NVivo 10 software captured some of the important texts search query in the form of words, terms and phrases that were used many times in the interviews by the respondents to form initial codes and some were eventually turned into themes as they captured the essence of the phenomenon under study.

### 4.10 Research Design

The sections below focus on the research design in respect to the interviews.

#### 4.10.1 Sampling

Etikan and Bala (2017) argue that sampling techniques can be divided into probability and non-probability sampling. Furthermore,

> *"for probability sampling, the chance of each case being selected from the target population is known and is usually equal for all cases. Therefore, the researcher is able to answer the research questions and achieve the research objectives that require statistical estimation of the characteristics of the target population from the sample"* (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 261).

Hence, probability sampling is associated with surveys and experiment research strategies. The techniques of selecting a sample are based on the assumption that a sample can be selected from a sampling frame (Saunders et al., 2019). Therefore, Vehovar et al., (2016) argues that the chances of any case to be part of the sample are high. Thus, the selection of a sample is based on the assumption that the sample can be chosen at random from a sampling frame (Etikan and Bala, 2017; Saunders et al., 2019).

In non-probability sampling the chances of each case being selected is not known. The researcher using this method may find it difficult to answer research questions and objectives that require statistical inferences about the characteristics of the population. However, the research questions and strategy may dictate the selection of a sampling technique (Patton, 2002; Saunders et al., 2019). The research questions of this thesis and the need to capture the respondents food consumption experiences in their context and for a group which is difficult to locate meant that the non-probability sampling techniques were the appropriate techniques to be adopted (Saunders et al., 2019).

Non-probability sampling techniques have an issue of sample size which is acknowledged by various researchers as ambiguous. When deciding the sample size for non-probability sampling, there are no rules as with probability sampling. Instead the logical relationship between the sample selection technique and the research focus is much more important and also the generalisations being made to theory (Saunders et al., 2019).

Sampling is the selection of specific data sources. These data sources become the respondents from whom the data is collected to address the research question. There are three major nonprobability sampling techniques. These are quota, convenience, and snowball sampling methods (Gentles et al., 2015). Quota sampling involves an initial stage where the researcher identifies the research population. Subgroups are identified and quantified according to their relative size. This sampling method ensures that certain characteristics of the population are represented to the exact extent that the investigator desires (Gentles et al., 2015; Saunders et al., 2019). Convenience sampling is more commonly used in qualitative research. It is an ad hoc process because it is based on the respondents' accessibility and proximity to the researcher.

The key advantage of convenience sampling is its efficiency and simplicity (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007; Etikan et al., 2016).

Snowball sampling is a particular form of convenience sampling. It is also known as a chain referral because of the processes involved in identifying respondents (Robinson, 2014: Etikan et al., 2016). The study sample is identified through a network of referrals made by people with similar characteristics or who know people that share similar characteristics that are of interest to the researcher (Browne, 2005; Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Waters, 2015). With this sampling method, the researcher is actively involved in the development and control of the sample's initiation, progress and can terminate the snowballing process. The researcher's task is to identify the initial contact and to start the referral chain. Secondly, the researcher is involved in the verification of the potential respondents. The researcher is then responsible for the pacing and monitoring of the referral chain network (Sadler et al., 2010; Cohen & Arieli, 2011). Snowball sampling can be argued to be biased because of its lack of representativeness (Etikan et al., 2016). On the other hand, a major advantage of using snowball sampling in research with marginalized and invisible people is that it enables the researcher to gain access, involve and gain cooperation from respondents (Cohen & Arieli, 2011).

A sample size of 16 respondents identified through the snowball sampling method was interviewed in this thesis. In general, sample sizes in qualitative research should not be too large that it is difficult to extract and manage the thick, rich data. At the same time, the sample should not be too small that it is difficult to achieve data saturation (Morse, 1995; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Higginbotham et al., 2001; Patton, 2015). In total, 16 interviews were conducted. Other researchers who have researched migrant identity projects have used similar samples Hatoss (2012), for example, conducted 14

interviews while Warde (2014) had 30 interviews over two years in an identity study. The difficulty is that the larger the number of respondents, the greater the problem of data analysis. The 16 interviews generated 168, 429 words of raw data.

The sample size of this research was dictated by the desire to understand in depth the individual experiences of the Zimbabwean inbetweeners explaine din their own words. During data collection and data analysis stages the researcher was constantly moving between the coded data and new interview data comparing if there were any new codes to create. However, during this process the researcher began to identify reccurring patterns in the data. The decision in regards to the sample size was, therefore, determined by the data reaching a stage where limited new information of thematic significance was likely to be obtained for the ongoing process of developing themes.

Snowball sampling was necessary for this research because, being a small group, the Zimbabwean inbetweeners can be difficult to identify. Researchers studying small migrant communities are always faced with problems of locating invisible migrants. These 'harder to reach' groups may hide their identities, fearing confrontations with authorities and also pressures put on them by the local communities. Relying on the census, Home Office refugee and migrant data to locate these groups is, therefore, a challenge. This is especially so in the case of Zimbabweans. Bloch (2007) earlier highlighted the difficulties in identifying Zimbabweans living in Britain due to their community being small in size and their fear of being identified by authorities. Snowball sampling is a better method to use when research is on people that are hard to find (Saunders et al., 2019). There is no accurate database of the number of Zimbabwean inbetweeners living in the UK. Additionally, there are only a few networks from which to identify the research participants. Those with regularised status are easier to identify

and interview, unlike their undocumented, invisible counterparts. This group fears that they might be reported to the UK Border Agency. Others feared the Zimbabwean secret service due to their political affiliation with Zimbabwean political parties. Recent reports have indicated that the UK government has allowed Zimbabwean officials to interrogate Zimbabwean asylum seekers in the UK (Bulman, 2019). Due to these difficulties, some researchers have used gatekeepers to access the migrants who fear repercussions after participating in interviews (Bloch, 2007). In addition, the Zimbabwean inbetweeners had specific characteristics hence the need for snowball sampling. These characteristics included the fact that they had travelled to the UK to join their parents, between the period of 2000-2006 and were aged between the 9 and 12 years old at the time of migration. They had their early childhood years in Zimbabwe where they were going through the intial stages of consumer socialisation before the abrupt destabilization of this process through migration to the UK. Identifying such a group with such particular characteristicsa would have been difficult if the researcher had used any other sampling techniques. The initial contacts enabled the process thereby allowing the researcher to reach the correct individuals that fitted the characteristics that were required in this research.

Gaining trust, therefore, became a necessity. Building trust with respondents goes beyond the ethical principles of anonymity, and confidentiality. The researcher had to establish credible relationships with referrals and potential respondents (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Kornbluh, 2015). The researcher also used his circumstance as a former migrant to gain their trust during the initial stages of the research. Initial contacts for participants were made at Zimbabwean community events such as a 'braai' (barbecues), Zimbabwean salons, Zimbabwean weddings, and

parties. Positive relationships were achieved by clearly explaining the interest in the Zimbabwean identity in the diaspora and that there was no compulsion to participate. The ‘referrals’ and their ‘referees’ allowed for this relationship to develop based on confidentiality.

Table 4.5 below sets out the demographic data of the resulting sample. Gender was an important factor taken into consideration because of its significance when it comes to roles in traditional families in Zimbabwe. Age upon arrival was also considered as important because this meant that respondents had different food experiences depending on the age bracket to which they belong. Older respondents had much greater food experiences in Zimbabwe and their coming to the UK had a much greater impact on their eating habits, unlike the respondents that arrived when they were much younger. Life stages are important as they show the different food consumption trajectories that take place in migrants in the UK. Current age was important as it was used to check and understand if there are any changes since they had matured. Marital status proved to be one of the factors that needed to be taken into consideration because of the way respondents took up different roles in their respective families. This meant that when they left their parental households, they were exposed to greater responsibilities such as feeding new families. This also meant that the household profile was important due to the roles the respondents played in the food consumption process.

Home situation was included because it was perceived to have an influence on the types of food they ate. Those who were since they were not with the families or living with parents faced different challenges. Education was considered by the researcher because respondents in education were still meeting other communities and their acculturation was still ongoing. Employment status was included because the

respondents were at different stages in terms of accessing financial resources. While some were relying on their parents', others were already running their businesses.

## Table 4.5 Respondents Demographic Data

| Assigned names | Gender | Age upon arrival in the UK | Current Age | Marital Status | Home situation | Education Status | Employment Status | Household profile |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Desiree** | F | 8 | 22 | Single | Living away from home | Not in education | Employed | No Children |
| **2. Elias** | M | 11 | 25 | Single | Living with parents | Full-Time Student | Employed | No Children |
| **3. Fatima** | F | 5 | 22 | Single | Living with parents | Not in education | Employed | No Children |
| **4. Gloria** | F | 11 | 29 | Married | Living in own home | Not in education | Own business | 2 Children |
| **5. Kenny** | M | 10 | 26 | Single | Living with parents | Not in education | Employed | No Children |
| **6. Kudzi** | M | 8 | 25 | Single | Living with parents | Full-Time Student | Employed | No Children |
| **7. Lilly** | F | 11 | 29 | Married | Living in own home | Not in education | Employed | 1 Child |
| **8. Munya** | M | 9 | 23 | Single | Living with parents | Full-Time Student | Employed | No Children |
| **9. Panashe** | M | 9 | 23 | Single | Living with parents | Full-Time Student | Employed | No Children |
| **10. Sandra** | F | 9 | 23 | Single | Living with parents | Not in education | Unemployed | No Children |
| **11. Yolanda** | F | 9 | 23 | Single | Living with parents | Not in education | Unemployed | No Children |
| **12. Travis** | M | 9 | 24 | Divorced | Living with parents | Not in education | Employed | 1 Child |
| **13. Martin** | M | 9 | 23 | Married | Living in own home | Not in education | Own Business | 3 Children |
| **14. Awa** | F | 9 | 23 | Single | Living in own home | Student | Employed | No Children |
| **15. Den** | M | 12 | 26 | Married | Living in own home | Not in education | Employed | 3 Children |
| **16. Edward** | M | 9 | 23 | Single | Living in own home | Student | Unemployed | No Children |

### 4.10.2 The Interview Process

Pilot interviews were conducted to refine the interview questions. The researcher conducted his first recorded interview with an independent participant as a way of testing the suitability of the questions. Discussions were then held with the supervisory team about the pilot interview recordings, the interview style and changes were recommended and implemented by the researcher. A second pilot interview was carried out using the revised methods and questions. Interviews took place in a social context and this had an impact on the relationship between the researcher and respondents. Besides costs and travel time, the interview locations were selected and agreed between the researcher and the participants. The main goal was that the venues had to be comfortable for the respondents for them to be able to express themselves freely.

The first interview was held in a salon after the respondent said that she was busy. This was affected by noise interruptions coming from the traffic passing outside and people who were waiting to have their hair done. This made the interview start and stop especially when people came asking for things or information in the salon where she worked. This prompted the researcher to make it clear with the other respondents the nature of the interviews and the impact the interruptions had on the quality of data. Some interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes at times with their relatives around. Having these relatives helped to make the participants to feel more at ease but at times it was noisy during the interviews. There were a few respondents who were closer to the university and the researcher requested they meet in university researcher's room which was quiet, and this produced clearer interviews. Some of the interview questions are identified in Table 4.6 and a sample of the respondents' comments are also indicated.

**Table 4.6 Sample Questions**

| The questions | Responses |
|---|---|
| a) What were your experiences when you arrived in the U.K? | *I did not like the houses to look alike from Heathrow to where were going in Walsall.* |
| b) How did you find the food when you first arrived?<br><br>Why do you think it was like that? | *I hated it very much. It was not what I expected. I was used to our fresh food and not what I experienced in those early days.* |
| c) You spoke about changing your food nowadays. Would you mind explaining what you mean when you say you are now changing? | *I was eating Zimbabwean food when I arrived here but now, I am eating different foods because I have come across many people now and some of them are my friends.* |
| d) So, can you tell which foods you have embraced? | *I eat our food from Zimbabwe first, then I have friends from Jamaica. I eat their rice and peas. It's nice. Then at work I have British friends and they bring all sorts of foods and we eat if they choose to share though.* |

**Source:** Author (2019)

Recording equipment, notebook and pens were taken to all the venues of the interviews. The interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and were recorded with the researcher taking notes for further questioning.

As was indicated earlier, interviews were recorded and transcribed in the days after they were conducted. This was to give the researcher time to reflect on the process while they still had a fresh memory of how the research progressed. The researcher listened to the recordings of each interview three times before transcribing to familiarise with the data. Transcripts were then read twice to compare them with the recordings and where mistakes were found corrections were made.

### 4.10.3 Data Analysis

The development of themes is an important feature of qualitative data analysis. This involves the systematic search for patterns to generate full descriptions capable of illuminating the social phenomenon under investigation (Clarke & Braun, 2013; 2014;

2017). Thematic analysis is a process that can be used especially to analyse verbatim speech data. This involves the researcher initially identifying codes from the body of data which are then further developed into themes and sub-themes (Boyatiz, 1998; Clarke and Braun, 2013). This was achieved by the researcher following the prescribed six-stage step-by-step process advocated by Braun and Clarke (2013) as set out in Table 4.7.

**Table 4.7 Six Stages of thematic analysis**

| Stages | Thematic analysis process | Researcher's activities |
|---|---|---|
| **1) Data Familiarisation** | The interview data is transcribed as it comes in from the research field. | The researcher conducted interviews and transcribed this interview data. Prior to transcribing the researcher listened to the recordings at least three times. After transcribing the researcher read the transcripts two times. First round the researcher would take each transcript and checked for accuracy against the interview recordings before the coding process. This way the researcher had prolonged engagement with the data while also familiarising with the data. |
| **2) Codes generation process** | Involves searching for interesting phrases, words etc from interview data. These are then used to create codes. | Here the use of NVivo was significant as it enabled the management of large data. The researcher used NVivo 10 to develop the initial codes. Research questions identified in chapter one were helpful in this process as the researcher used them to identify codes that related to them. There were other codes that did not address the research question, these were not used in the next stage of the analysis. Coding is data sorted into meaningful groups (Tuckett, 2005). Data was given full attention at this stage of analysis and this enable thoroughness of analysis from the perspective of the researcher. |
| **3) Searching for themes** | Analysis searches for themes. The researcher sorts, combines codes formulating preliminary themes. | The researcher analysed codes and even combined some codes to make them into themes. Where some codes were addressed the research question these were then turned into themes. |
| **4) Potential Themes are Reviewed** | Themes are further reviewed and refined. | The researcher cross-checked themes against the collated extracts of data. Furthermore, some themes were merged, while overlapping themes were separated to give clarity of what they stood for. The thoroughness of this process of combining and separating of themes prolonged the engagement with the data by the researcher as the process took a long time. Taking time was in actual fact the opportunity of the researcher to revisit the recordings to gain clarity from the interviews. |
| **5) Naming and defining identified themes** | Specific themes are clearly identified and given accurate names as to what they are addressing. | At this stage, the Tackett researcher made sure that the themes were strong enough in defining the boundaries in relation to specific research questions. Where major themes overlapped into some areas, the researcher created sub-themes. This intention was about elimination of repetition. These themes just like the research questions built into each other thereby |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | constructing a structured and coherent story of the issues under investigation. The researcher went backwards and forwards until the themes were refined. |
| **6) Report writing** | Writing and analysis are intertwined to produce a coherent and convincing story. | The researcher ensured that the themes constructed a storyline from the interview data. The systematic linkages of these themes brought a coherent and convincing story from the interview data. |

**Source:** Adapted from Clarke and Braun (2017)

To analyse the data thematically, coding was applied. Clarke and Braun (2017) suggest that the code is a critical link between data collection and the underpinning explanation where meaning is derived.

> *"A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. The data can consist of interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journals, documents, drawings, artefacts, photographs, video, Internet sites, e-mail correspondence, literature, and so on*" (Saldana, 2015, p. 3).

Interview data was uploaded into the NVivo 10 software. The NVivo 10 software was then used to organise the large amount of data that was generated from the interviews. The advantages of using NVivo 10 software to analyse the data was that it enabled the researcher to work through the data methodically. The data coding was an iterative process through the interview data.

Table 4.8 below shows an example of how some of the codes were developed. The researcher identified these codes merging and demerging them as more data came through from the interviews and also through reading and re-reading the transcribed interview data. For example, descriptive codes such as '*our taste'*, and '*our food'* were merged with analytical codes that gave more depth such as *'food perceptions'*.

**Table 4.8 The data coding process**

| Interview Transcripts | Initial Codes |
|---|---|
| • 'Our food tasted at home better than their food'<br>• 'Most of our food in Zimbabwe is not bland and does not need spices.'<br>• 'It's just that 'ours taste' better that you would want more'<br>• 'Their food is not nice but food from Zimbabwe is organic. | • Positive food perceptions<br>• Home food is better<br>• Healthy food |
| • 'My mother is always teaching me about the foods from Zimbabwe'<br>• 'She shows me how to cook Zimbabwean food. She wants me to learn about my culture.<br>• They keep telling us about Zimbabwean food and as a woman I am told I should watch when she is cooking. | • Understanding about food practices<br>• Learning about culture<br>• Having knowledge about food practices<br>• Expectations of women |

**Source:** Adapted from Clarke and Braun (2017)

In this final stage, more analytical themes were developed in order to identify what was latent in the data (Clarke and Braun, 2013; 2017). Table 4.9 shows the themes that were manually developed.

**Table 4.9 Final Themes**

| Themes | Number | Sub-themes |
|---|---|---|
| **Theme 1: Foundations** | Sub-theme 1 | Past experiences |
| | Sub-theme 2 | Looking backwards |
| | Sub-theme 3 | Looking around now. |
| | Sub-theme 4 | The constraints |
| **Theme 2: Finding out** | | |
| | Sub-theme 1 | Informal sources of knowledge |
| | Sub-theme 2 | Formal sources of knowledge |
| **Theme 3: Symbolic consumption** | | |
| | Sub-theme 1 | Food perceptions |
| | Sub-theme 2 | What and where is home? |
| | Sub-theme 3 | Emotions and memories of food experiences |
| | Sub-theme 4 | Food, relationships, and '*genderization*'. |
| | Sub-theme 5 | Who am I around others? |
| **Theme 4: Eating out** | | |
| | Sub-theme 1 | Negotiating the restaurant space |
| | Sub-theme 2 | Eating out to experiment |

### 4.10.4. Eating Out in Ethnic Restaurants

During the interviews the respondents mentioned eating out in various ethnic restaurants. The researcher identified three restaurants as commercial expressions of 'southern African-Zimbabwean' cuisine; a branch of Nando's, Nakira and e'Khaya. The restaurants are set out in Table 4.10 below.

**Table 4.10 Sampled Restaurants**

| Restaurant | Description |
|---|---|
| **A Branch of Nando's** | A global chain with numerous casual dining restaurants offering ostensibly southern 'African' and 'Portuguese' food. It's a restaurant that was started in South Africa by South Africans of Portuguese origins. |
| **Nakira** | A mid-market southern African themed restaurant in the centre of Birmingham offering predominately southern African cuisines although their menu includes are African and Western cuisines. This restaurant is run by Zimbabwean entrepreneurs. |
| **e'Khaya** | A local 'ethnic' restaurant in Dudley-Tipton seeming to offer a more focused Zimbabwean cuisine. The restaurant is owned by a Zimbabwean entrepreneur and it has grown from a small restaurant in Dudley centre to Tipton. |

To help contextualise the interview data, the way these restaurants presented themselves was analysed paying attention to contextual information such as websites, blogs, buildings and décor, formal signs (names, logos and symbols) was identified. This material is not presented as part of the main thesis but is given in Appendix C.

### 4.11 Researcher reflexivity

The discussion indicated earlier that the role of a researcher is a defining feature of qualitative research and this involves acknowledging the researcher's role and how it impacts the research process and the construction of knowledge. Reflexivity in qualitative research allows for the establishment of the credibility of the qualitative research (Freysteinson, et al., 2013; Houghton, et al., 2013; Corlett & Mavin, 2017). Research credibility shows that the findings of a study can be trusted. However, the explanations and interpretations provided are the explanations of the data by the researcher may be subjective (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Eyisi, 2016).

Reflexivity helps the researcher to be self-aware of their role; researchers are continuously evaluating subjective responses from participants and the dynamic of the relationships between the researcher, the respondents, and the research process (Gabriel 2015).

Table 4.14 demonstrates the characteristics of this researcher that may have impacted on the research process. As already stated in the introduction, the researcher is a black male migrant from Zimbabwe but is not an inbetweener having arrived in the UK as an adult. He is a father of two children, and both were born in Britain.

**Table 4.14 The researcher's characteristics**

| Researchers characteristics | |
|---|---|
| Gender | Male |
| Age | 45 |
| Marital status | Married with children |
| Ethnicity | Black |
| Immigration status | Naturalised migrant |
| Nationality | British |
| Birth nation | Zimbabwe |
| Occupation | Lecturer |
| Pastoral work | Pastor |
| Academic work | Researcher |

**Source:** Author (2020)

There are advantages in being an insider undertaking research. Access to people was less difficult for the researcher because the researcher identified with the respondents when it came to languages spoken. Language was important especially during the first stages of establishing contact because they wanted to acknowledge if the researcher was truly a Zimbabwean. The interviews were conducted in English. The knowledge of Zimbabwean community events and places such as 'braai places' (barbecue

places), salons and barbershops, restaurants, culture, and language made access to some of these organisations easier. The researcher's personal relationships with some of the owners of these venues were instrumental in the research process. These events are not part of the UK culture and insider information was crucial in successfully undertaking this research.

Knowing the cultural artefacts and both English, Shona and Ndebele languages made it easier for the researcher to identify Zimbabwean restaurants that use Zimbabwean traditional symbols in the West Midlands to market themselves. Food names such as boerewors, restaurant names, signage, and names used by these restaurants require someone with the knowledge of their meanings in Southern Africa.

Trust was gained by the researcher because he was able to explain himself in a way the respondents would understand. Given that the respondents fear the Zimbabwe secret service the researcher identified himself in a way that is understood by people not involved with Zimbabwean ruling party. This involved the researcher also expressing why he too was in the U.K as part of the Zimbabwean diaspora. For the referrals, the assistance came from the first contacts that went ahead to explain to the referrals what was involved in the research. These quickened the process of accessing and gaining trust for the referrals.

Overfamiliarity may also be an issue. Researching one's community, in particular, may lead to mistakes such as taking for granted things that other researchers may consider less obvious (Silverman, 2013). Food consumption patterns may seem trivial to a Zimbabwean researcher and they may miss the developing phenomenon.

One potential concern was the researcher’s semi-outsider status in the UK having arrived in 2002. Despite living in the UK for 18 years, there are still things the

researcher understands to an extent and other things which are not understood. The inbetweeners possibly understand more issues because they have gone through the British education system since they arrived in the UK. A simple example would be the Nando's slogan *'If peri-peri be the food of love'* which references part of a quotation from Twelfth Night, one of Shakespeare's plays, which this researcher was not aware of but which an inbetweener might have known due to having gone through secondary school in the UK.

According to Roulston and Shelton (2015) bias exists in all research and the researcher must attempt to minimise it by identifying the potential sources. Social desirability bias can be pervasive. Social desirability bias is about the respondents in research telling the researcher what they think the researcher wants to hear. An example in respect of food might be the question 'do you like the food I prepared?' The answer is most likely to be positive because the individual may not want to offend the person. A second problem with social desirability bias is someone not wanting to feel uncomfortable or refusing to answer at all (Hammersley and Gomm, 1997; Jann et al., 2019). An example in respect to food might be what do you eat and how much have you eaten?' Their answer is likely to give moderate food consumption patterns because they want to give an answer that makes them look positive.

Some aspects of research in human behaviour might be highly affected by social desirability bias if the researcher has particular characteristics. For example, the background of the researcher as a pastor, a father, a migrant and a Zimbabwean might create a social desirability bias if questions are on relationships, social and bad behaviour. The focus of this research on food meanings consumption and identity construction meant that social desirability bias was less of an issue but might still be present. Social desirability bias may have impacted on the way answers were provided

by the participants and how the questions were asked. For example, some of the respondents presented answers which seemed to be seeking acknowledgement or approval from the researcher e.g. comments like ‘you know Zimbabwean mothers and you know how they behave when the have cooked sadza’. The researcher might also select and interpret the data in ways that support their pre-existing ideas which is confirmation bias (Roulston and Shelton, 2015).

### 4.12 Ethical Issues

Any piece of research can raise ethical issues that have the potential to affect the research process, and the analysis of the findings (Silverman, 2013). First, the researcher sought ethical approval from the ethics committee of the University of Wolverhampton before conducting the fieldwork. The research process was, therefore, started after the approval had been received.

The first ethical concern is seeking informed consent from the participants (Behi and Nolan, 1995; Flick, 2015). The interview sample was composed of adults. There were no children or vulnerable people interviewed during the data collection process. Those who took part in the research did so voluntarily. Before conducting the interviews, the researcher sought informed consent from the respondents. Potential participants were given a document outlining the purpose of the study, the issue of confidentiality and data protection. Respondents were asked to sign consent forms before data collection began. A considerable amount of time was spent explaining the purpose of the interviews and reassuring the potential respondents because of their fear of the Zimbabwean security services and Home Office for those with no regularised immigration status. Furthermore, respondents were informed about the availability of their interview data in the event they wanted to retrieve it from the researcher.

The second ethical consideration that guides qualitative research is that of anonymity. This is a key ethical concept that needs to be addressed. Experienced researchers have argued extensively for the importance of anonymity in research (Novak, 2014). Confidentiality involves the management of respondents' information '*that has been communicated in trust of confidence, such that disclosure would or could incur particular prejudice'* (Giordano et al., 2007, p. 64). However, the nature of the respondents in this research meant that their data needed to be anonymized. Anonymising data was achieved by removing respondents', locations, and real names, replacing them with pseudonyms (Tilly & Woodthorpe, 2011). These names are fictitious and do not have any bearing to anything relating to the respondents in this research. The researcher considered the nature of the respondents' predicament with their immigration status and the Zimbabwe secret service that was deemed to be operating undercover in the UK (McGregor, 2007). The anonymisation of data was therefore done in a way that makes jigsaw identification difficult if one attempts to conduct data re-identification (Saunders, et al., 2015; Du Bois et al., 2018). The respondents' ages upon arrival in the UK and current ages were not specified but rather age brackets were used.

The third ethical concern is confidentiality. Potential participants were given a document outlining the purpose of the study and also including issues relating to confidentiality and data protection. Data was securely placed on the University of Wolverhampton system and the researcher had direct access; although some notes were shared between the researcher and the supervisory team during the research process. The confidential bins designated for such purposes at the University of Wolverhampton were used to dispose of unwanted research materials.

There are various ethical concerns which may arise concerning the use of identifiable images including the '*contexts in which images were produced and may be consumed, the longevity of images in the public domain and the potential for future uses of images'* (Wiles et al., 2012, p.2). The images used in this research were posted on the restaurants' public domain such as their social media sites and these were accessed on these platforms. Accessing these pictures from the websites including social media did not require permission as they were all in the public domain for marketing purposes and the researcher adhered to the requirements of the fair use for private study, criticism and review under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

### 4.13 Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced, discussed and provided justifications for the methodologies used in this research particularly focusing on social constructionism as the approach that has enabled the research to give explanations of food and their everyday meanings to migrants in the identity construction process. The chapter has discussed the characteristics of the respondents and how these are important in understanding their influence on their food habits. The use of thematic analysis processes for data analysis were explained for the conventional semi-structured interviews data. Finally, ethical issues were discussed.

The next chapter presents the findings from the semi-structured interviews collected from the Zimbabwean inbetweeners.

# CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

## 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the research methodology and the methods underpinning this study. This chapter presents the findings from the interviews conducted with the inbetweeners regarding their identity construction through food consumption in the UK. The findings from the thematic analysis as presented here are focused primarily on the first two research questions but, towards the concluding part of the chapter, there will be highlights of the findings regarding research question three. The specific research questions guiding this study are again enumerated below.

### 5.1.1 Research Aim and Objectives

This study aimed to examine the role of food consumption in identity construction by focusing on the Zimbabwean black inbetweeners who lived their early formative years in Zimbabwe and are now living in Britain.

(i) *To investigate the role of food consumption experiences among the Zimbabwean inbetweeners living in the UK.*

(ii) *To explain how the Zimbabwean inbetweeners make sense of their acquired new and old food patterns in the UK.*

(iii) *To explore the influences of the 'Southern African' ethnic restaurants in the inbetweeners identity project in the UK.*

Table 5.1 below restates the research questions being addressed in this chapter.

**Table 5.1 Research questions**

| Research Questions | |
|---|---|
| *RQ 1:* | What types of food consumption do the inbetweeners experience? |
| *RQ 2*: | How do they make sense of their food consumption experiences? |
| *RQ 3* | How does the ethnic restaurant impact on their sense of identity, and enable them to deal with any tensions they experience? |

***Research Question 1: What types of food consumption do the inbetweeners experience?***

As the previous chapter showed, the interview data has been analysed thematically using NVivo10 as well as through manual coding. Data coding and reviewing led to the formation of major themes, sub-themes and sub-sub themes. Four major themes were identified using the approach suggested by (Braun Clarke, 2006). These themes are represented in table 5.2 below.

**Table 5.2 Themes and Sub-Themes Developed from the semi-structured Interviews presented**

| Themes | Sub-themes |
|---|---|
| **Foundations** | Past experiences |
| | Looking backwards |
| | Looking around now. |
| | The Constraints |
| **Finding out** | Informal sources of knowledge |
| | Formal sources of knowledge |
| **Symbolic consumption** | Food perceptions |
| | What and where is home? |
| | Emotions and memories of food experiences |
| | Food and relationships |
| | Who am I around others? |
| | The 'genderization' of roles |
| **Eating out** | Negotiating the restaurant space |
| | Eating out to experiment |

Migrants are not only influenced by their differences from their host communities where they are assumed that they end up assimilating (Reilly and Wallendorf 1987; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983). Post-assimilationists argue that migrant consumer acculturation is influenced by various acculturation agents and experiences as they settle and learn new consumer skills in a new country. These can include home and host country factors which are dual sets of acculturation agents (Penaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Luedicke, 2011). These are some of the factors that impact on their experiences in their new environment.

### 5.2 Foundations

Foundations as a theme is related to how the inbetweeners were influenced by various factors to develop their food consumption experiences in creating their identity. This encompasses their past experiences, looking backwards, looking around now and constraints. The accompanying sub-themes relate to the agents involved in the consumption and identity construction process and is made up *of parents and family, various Zimbabwean networks, educational institutions, friends and the diverse community* where the inbetweeners live. These form the foundation of their eating habits in Britain as well as the building blocks of their food experiences.

#### 5.2.1 Past experiences

The data shows that the respondents were able to identify various aspects of their experiences that are responsible for shaping their current food consumption patterns. Early experiences became building blocks that were seen as responsible for the respondents' future consumption patterns. Desiree explained about her upbringing and how it shaped her future choices even when she grows up to become a mature woman.

> *'My upbringing will always play a part even when I become 45 or 50, it's always meant to play a part in me because it somehow defines who I am. I think sometimes in my life choices and decisions are based on my upbringing because I always look at how I was brought up sometimes'* (**Desiree).**

Similarly, Martin identified his upbringing in Zimbabwe with eating only 'Zimbabwean' food. He stated:

> *'I ate Zimbabwean food when I was young in Zimbabwe and that is what I eat now and will never change for anything and anyone'* (**Martin**).

Panashe identified sadza, and vegetables (*muriwo*) in particular, as a reminder of his upbringing and the need to maintain the experience.

> *'sadza nemuriwo defines my upbringing in Zimbabwe. So, when I see other people wanting to change now, I laugh. I see no reason why they say they do not eat sadza now' (***Panashe**).

The respondents spent different periods in education in Zimbabwe and this influenced their food consumption patterns. Fatima's food experiences in Zimbabwe were limited as she arrived in the UK soon after nursery. Her recognition of her past experiences was about porridge. In support of this, Fatima stated:

> *'… when someone says… they have had porridge, automatically for me I just think of being in nursery back in Zimbabwe'* (**Fatima**).

Munya did not remember much of his food consumption experiences but he accepted that the food he ate in Zimbabwe meant a something to him.

> *'I was young when I left Zimbabwe and I remember not much. The food I ate over there has a role but a limited one in what I do now'* (**Munya**).

Some respondents arrived in Britain after having experienced primary school in Zimbabwe. Kenny, indicated as follows regarding his food consumption experience:

> *'… I do associate especially with sadza and stuff that's what I grew up eating. So over here when I got over here, I never stopped eating Sadza'* (**Kenny**).

Sandra mentioned about 'changing' to other consumption pattens but still maintaining her original eating preferences from Zimbabwe. Sandra stated:

> *'I may have changed a bit but not with sadza. I will not stop, that was my morning and afternoon meal when I moved in with my uncles …'* (**Sandra**).

Regarding food experiences gained from educational institutions, some respondents who studied in private boarding schools shared their experiences of the foods they ate in these institutions. These boarding schools are more expensive and students are provided with food cooked in their central kitchen which is different from day scholars. They are also allowed to bring in foods to keep in their dormitories which they can eat anytime when the school canteen is closed. Many of these still had a kind of nostalgia which is associated with Zimbabwean foods enjoyed in the past. Gloria stated:

> *'... we have a certain culture that we have where it's like certain foods are only eaten ... at boarding school. I miss it but I also get to try it here every now and again'* **(Gloria).**

Desiree also said:

> *'I am used to knowing that the foods that I eat now I have been accustomed to them while I was in boarding school in Zimbabwe' (***Desiree**).

For some respondents, their food consumption experiences were not the traditional 'Zimbabwean food' stuffs except for maputi but rather their experiences relate to processed foods such as noodles, Cerelac and Cerevita.

> *'I still stick to what I ate even like up to now, I still eat like noodles, staff that I ate when I was in boarding school in Zimbabwe'* (**Elias**).

> *'... those were nice foods we ate in boarding school. I still search for those foods like Cerelac, Cerevita and Maputi'* (**Den**).

Kudzi and Elias were among the respondents who arrived in Britain in their secondary school and post-secondary school years respectively. Relating to their food consumption experiences, they said:

> *'I think it's something that I just grew up with when I was in Zimbabwe .... So, those are things I used to eat all the time ...'* (**Kudzi**).

> ‘*Yeah, the way you grew up in Zimbabwe is obviously going to have an impact especially when it comes to food; because in Africa foods are cooked in a certain way. So, coming here I was saying you have to try like new things … when you want to try something different it never ends well really’* (**Elias).**

The building blocks of the food consumption experience could also involve issues such as household management skills which were acquired in Zimbabwe. Lilly was fourteen when she migrated to Britain. She said:

> *‘… my grandparents were … always teaching you do this and do this. I am now married I have got my child; I have got my husband you know, I appreciate I know how to cook, I know how to clean, I know how to look after my child and all those things it’s all because of the way that I was raised’* (**Lilly**).

### 5.2.2 Looking Backwards

This sub-theme focused on the way Zimbabwean food consumption practices were perpetuated in Britain. The respondents received assistance mainly from their parents or immediate family and the Zimbabwean community at large. These gave them information on Zimbabwean food practices.

#### 5.2.2.1 Parents and immediate family as agents

The parents or the immediate family of some of the respondents influenced the kind of food consumption practices and identity that was constructed in Britain. Several of the respondents living with parents talked about their household food consumption practices. Sandra and Munya stated:

> *‘… in our family, we still eat traditional Zimbabwean food because of our parents ... We are a typical household from Zimbabwe eat is what we eat’* (**Munya**).

> *‘We are a Zimbabwean family. Our parents tell us that all the time and we now know that even our food is likely not to change at least for now’* (**Sandra)**.

Some respondents indicated the involvement of their parents in teaching them Zimbabwean food consumption practices and patterns.

> *'My mother teaches me how to cook the Zimbabwean food'* (**Yolanda**).
>
> *'Mum makes me watch because she wants me to learn our way of living and the food we ate in Zimbabwe'* (**Sandra).**
>
> *'... I can always pick up the phone and call my mum. She helps out a lot. Even my dad he still teaches me how to cook like certain things from Zimbabwe'* **(Elias)**

Respondents living with their Zimbabwean parents in the UK mentioned their parents cooking the foods they consumed.

> *'... with parents from Zimbabwe, you eat like cooked food, home-cooked food ... It's hardly that you do go out and buy some takeaway; it's always something ... they cooked over there than what we eat over here'* (**Kenny).**
>
> *'our parents continue to cook for us. We get to eat food from Zimbabwe most of the time'* (**Sandra).**
>
> *'... nine out of ten times I am eating the food my parents cook for me. This is Zimbabwean food I am talking about* (**Kudzi).**

Ed, even while he was in the university, received Zimbabwean food from his mother. He stated:

> *'My mother buys me Zimbabwean foods whenever she visits a Zimbabwean shop by us. She sends these via courier when I am in university…'* (**Ed).**

Awa, who lived alone indicated that her mother checked the food in her cupboards to make sure it included typical Zimbabwean foods. She said:

> '*When mom visits me, she'll go through my cupboards saying that's not good and then she'll go do a whole grocery shopping for me …'* (**Awa**).

Gloria indicated the role of her family in her food consumption experiences and the importance of commercialised 'Zimbabwean' ingredients in their cooking practices. Gloria stated:

> *'My family likes Royco, Usavi mix and Madras Curry powder. When we eat the food after our mum has cooked the food, we*

*feel like we are a Zimbabwean family in a foreign land …'* **(Gloria).**

Desiree's mother too emphasised the importance of these Zimbabwean ingredients to her.

*'My mother keeps telling me that … Zimbabwean ingredients are important in preparing our food …'* (**Desiree)**.

Similarly, Travis's mother used these ingredients in her cooking.

*'So, it's like trying to keep that kind of same taste and stuff like that… one thing that my mother does use is Royco I think that's a key to our cooking'* **(Travis).**

### 5.2.2.2 The Zimbabwean networks as agents

The consumer acculturation agents that influenced the maintenance of 'home' culture were pointed to as strong influencers of migrants acculturation outcomes in a new country (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Askegaard et al., 2005). Zimbabwean networks in the UK had a major role in the formation of food consumption patterns in the lives of the inbetweeners. Community events were particularly instrumental in creating these food consumption practices. Travis spoke of his lifestyle and his association with the Zimbabwean community in the UK.

*'… my lifestyle does not reflect that of the English …. I'm still very much in the Zimbabwean community because there are a lot of things that happen in the Zimbabwe community'* (**Travis).**

For Elias, it was about cooking and access to these 'African' foods. He stated:

*'I have got some family friends that were born here, and they also help as well. It's just like how to cook it and where to find certain things in this country. Because there are a few shops in this country that sell like, African food.'* (**Elias).**

Several other respondents spoke about the Zimbabwean community and networks and their role in accessing Zimbabwean foods.

*'our neighbours bring us these foods'* **(Martin).**

*'We have a vibrant Zimbabwean community, and these have always helped me. At times some from our Zimbabwean community may go to a Zimbabwean food shop. When they are leaving or when they are there, they always ... bring maputi, boerewors and other things we cannot get around our neighbourhood'* (**Den).**

*'... we buy Rooibos and boerewors in a place which is far away from the house, so people tend to help each other. Whoever will be travelling in that direction, they ask others if they can bring back anything'* (**Sandra).**

Munya described the similarities in food patterns between his family and his Zimbabwean friends:

*'... my friends are also in the same tradition .... So, when I am around my friends, I'm going to eat ... what I eat at our house'* **(Munya).**

Kenny indicated that he rarely tried other foods when he was with his friends.

*'... in terms of my friends at times maybe hardly at times, we don't like to try new things, so we end up going to Nando's ....'* **(Kenny).**

Similarly, Panashe said,

*'We planned a barbecue last week and it actually went well and "I was like dude it makes me think of home. I need to get back home'* **(Panashe).**

Fatima indicated that they ate Zimbabwean foods mostly at church events.

*'... a church gathering within the community, there will always be .... mostly your Zimbabwean food ...'* (**Fatima).**

Some of the other respondents spoke fondly of barbecue (braai) events as places where they learned about Zimbabwean foods, culture and heritage. For Kenny and Den:

*'... Zimbabwean places like barbecue places they give out ... tips ... on cooking ... what spices to use'* (Kenny).

> *'You want to learn about Zimbabwean food? The braai is the place to be and I go there especially in summer'* (**Den).**

Elias and Kudzai also indicated that community events included what they referred to as more generic 'African' food:

> *'... if you go to weddings in this country, even though people are now living in England, you still find the sort of similar foods to what you would have had in Africa'* (**Elias).**
>
> *'When I go to parties, I get to eat African foods'* (**Kudzai).**

### 5.2.3 Looking around

This theme is about how the inbetweeners learned about their current food consumption practices in Britain. The respondents indicated that they relied on various agents which influenced the acquisition of their current food consumption practices. The agents included educational institutions, friends and the wider diverse community.

#### 5.2.3.1 Educational institutions as agents

Chapter three discussed possible acculturation agents as the sources responsible for influencing the migrants with the consumer knowledge and information in their new host country (Oswald, 1999; Berry and Sam; 1997). The respondents talked about their new experiences in Britain and the way they learned about British food consumption habits. Some respondents indicated that the schools they attended were particularly responsible for the acquisition of new British culture and food practices.

> *'The culture here is different and I learned about it in school'* (**Den).**
>
> *'... at school, you learnt about ... what Britain is about ... and their culture'* (**Yolanda).**
>
> *'Even at school ... they have their teachings, their way of doing things then you just become part of that rather than them showing you type of a thing'* (**Fatima).**

Kudzi learned about the UK culture through integration in college.

> *'College made a big impact because I got to integrate. I got to be with UK people and learn about their culture .... So, I got to know that "oh that's how they like things; "oh it's how they do things'* (**Kudzi).**

Some of the other respondents including Fatima, Sandra and Kenny indicated that they came across new foods at their various schools and this had contributed to their new food consumption practices and taste.

> *'The starting point was in school where I came across new foods' (***Fatima).**
>
> *'The first time I got to see UK food was when I went to primary school ...'* (**Sandra).**
>
> *'In school, I used to try something different dinner time'* (**Kenny).**
>
> *'I kind of got used to the food at school' (***Ed).**

Kudzi also talked about events at school where he learned about other foods while being able to show food from Zimbabwe.

> *'... we had an event at school. In that event, we were encouraged to bring food from our cultures or cooked food from our cultures and bring it to school (sic)*' (**Kudzi).**

The respondents talked about their food experiences while they were at a British university. Examples include:

> *'... I cook ... the first year I didn't cook as much' (***Ed).**
>
> *'... I have become a student at the university where I have to start cooking for myself'* (**Desiree).**
>
> *'... when you become a student at the university you have to start cooking for yourself. Therefore, I began exploring new foods that I saw in our university student rooms'* (**Travis).**

### 5.2.3.2 Friends as agents

It became evident that the non-Zimbabwean friends of the inbetweeners played a major role in the acquisition of food consumption practices. Many of the respondents learnt new food practices through their friends or acquaintances:

> *'I rely on my friends when it comes to knowing other foods'* (**Den**).
>
> *'... if I have a friend who knows about cooking these foods ... a particular type of food that I want to have and they know how to cook it, I will probably ask them ...'* (**Lilly).**
>
> *'... It's mainly ... friends ... who have been there and using their input'* (**Sandra).**
>
> *'If I want to learn new foods my family friends are good at that and I trust them'* (**Ed).**

From the interviews, it was discovered that the ethnicity of the friends of the respondents had a role in influencing the acquisition of the current food practices of the inbetweeners.

> *'... some of my friends are ... half Jamaican or half somewhere in the Caribbean .... You have cuisines like Jamaican shops ... I would go there ....'* (**Fatima).**
>
> *'I have friends ... from ... Jamaica and they like Jamaican food quite a lot. Obviously ... they have introduced me to the food ...'* (**Yolanda).**
>
> *'Some guys from Cameroon ... I tried eggplant with them and some of the different soups they made'* (**Travis).**

Similarly, Martin reflected on his friends introducing his family to *Jamie Oliver's* restaurant.

> *'... first, it was introduced to us when we got a gift voucher to go there.... they said guys we have given you a voucher to go for a meal at Jamie Oliver's restaurant. So, we went there, and we liked it ...'* **(Martin).**

### 5.2.3.3 Diverse communities as agents

Although research has been focusing on host and home acculturation agents (Chai and Dibb, 2014) others have focused on the importance of host culture (Berry and Sam, 1997). Dey et al., (2019) argues further by identifying the impact of other ethnic communities that have an influence on the consumer acculturation process of migrants. The results of the interviews indicated that the diversity of the UK society had become reflected in the diversity and variety of food consumption practices and experiences acquired by the inbetweeners. The excerpts from Panashe and Gloria below indicate how British food consumption practices were acquired. Panashe stated that the people in his community had encouraged him to try Yorkshire pudding.

> *'When I moved to Yorkshire first people said: ''do you know what a Yorkshire pudding looks like''* (**Panashe).**

Similarly, Gloria indicated that class and food were connected as she chose eating out in expensive Michelin restaurants.

> *'There is a Marco Pierre White a top-end Michelin star restaurant. Sometimes if … I go to Rodizio … where we eat as much as we like'* (**Gloria**).

Respondents also mentioned various exotic foods that they came across in the UK.

> *'UK food changes a lot and you could be living in England, but you can still have like Italian food …. I like going to Indian, UK and Chinese restaurants. It is the new food experience that I am after when I go out to these places'* (**Den).**
>
> *'I eat Chinese at Cosmos... it's not English, it's mainly Asian food'* (**Desiree)**.
>
> *'It is easy to get foods from other countries here in the UK. You can have Brazilian meat …'* (**Gloria).**

### 5.2.4 The constraints to the acquisition of food consumption practices

The food consumptions practices of the inbetweeners were affected by some constraints as they constructed and navigated the food consumption experience. Two main factors - location and price - were the most important factors which came up during the interviews. The location constraint meant that the inbetweeners could neither access Zimbabwean foods nor ingredients based on where they are located in the UK. More so, price is also a factor in hindering the inbetweeners from having access to Zimbabwean foods since such foods could comparatively be expensive.

> *'The food from Zimbabwe is difficult to access and when you find it, the prices are so high that you end up buying local foods'* **(Travis).**

> *'There is a store in my areas where I live and can you imagine, the price for maputi is double the amount you pay in Zimbabwe'* (**Panashe).**

Another respondent spoke about how the time they spent in Wales and being the only black family limited their access to Zimbabwean food groceries.

> *'We lived in Wales and we were the first black people to live in that neighbourhood. So, we had no access to maize meal and even the food we were used to. We were stuck with rice and chicken …*' (**Den**).

Similarly, even Gloria indicated how the cost of Zimbabwean foods could be prohibitive as she ended up making foods that look like the foods she had in Zimbabwe.

> *'Zimbabwean food is expensive. You have to travel a long distance to get this food. These are some of the problems I face when I want to eat these foods. I end up eating or making food that looks like the food we ate in Zimbabwe. Sour milk, I mix fresh yoghurt and fresh milk. It does not taste the same, but it looks similar,* **(Gloria).**

### 5.3 Finding Out

The second theme is about the acquisition of information. Instead of relying on host consumer acculturation agents as advocated by the assimilationists models (Berry and Sam, 1997) the thesis also identifies other sources that have influenced the migrants and these provide the necessary information needed to influence their food patterns (Penaloza, 1986; 1994; Dey et al., 2019). The findings in this thesis agree with Dey et al., (2019) who identified that other migrant communities can influence new migrants. Two ways of seeking information about food consumption practices and patterns were identified. These are formal and informal information sources. While the informal information searches focused on Zimbabwean food patterns, formal information searches focused on Britain and its food consumption patterns. The agents which are involved in this information gathering process included *parents and family, government websites, internet and social media and educational institutions*.

#### 5.3.1. Informal Sources of information

The informal sources of information became one of the most important means through which the inbetweeners acquired their food consumption practices and experiences. This informal information is mainly from parents and immediate family.

##### 5.3.1.1 Parents and family as agents

Parents and family were found to be the source of informal information regarding Zimbabwean foods preparation as well as locations where these foods can be bought. Travis indicated that the Zimbabwean traditions were orally passed down.

> *'... people from Zimbabwe are knowledgeable about the foods. I ask my parents ... about Zimbabwean foods. You see, our culture is passed down when we hear someone talk. We are not that good at writing the things down but when it comes to sitting down and talking about it, we are very good'* **(Travis).**

Similarly, Desiree, Fatima and Elias indicated that they relied on parental influences to acquire their current food practices.

> *'The first point of call is my parents because they know more about it. They were brought up from there from childhood up until adulthood ...'* (**Desiree**).
>
> *'I think I turn obviously to my parents ...'* (**Fatima**).
>
> *'Usually, I ask my parents ...'* (**Elias).**

Some of the respondents, including Kenny and Gloria, confirmed their reliance on elderly people from Zimbabwe in their various communities to acquire local Zimbabwean knowledge on Food.

> *'... older people from Zimbabwe because they tend to find more things about their food. They tell you more about the food that we eat in Zimbabwe'* (**Kenny).**
>
> *'I tend to ask the elderly because they have a lot of information. They have got the knowledge they have been there before they have experienced it ...'* (**Gloria).**

Even though most individuals have access to the internet in the UK, some of the respondents indicated the shortcomings of the internet when it comes to information on Zimbabwean food and food practices. Sandra and Panashe said:

> *'I still think that's quite limited because I don't think a lot of people add anything on Google in terms of Zimbabwean culture ...'* (**Sandra).**
>
> *'I have tried to look on the internet, but there is isn't much you can.... there is only so much that you can you know that you can find out'* **(Panashe).**

### 5.4 Formal sources of information

More formal searches of information gave the respondents information on UK food eating patterns alone. These were formal in the sense that they were either published

in the public domain and were formally documented. These platforms were considered reliable for providing information on new food trends. These formal searches were conducted on government websites and social media (mainly YouTube), as well as from educational institutions.

### 5.4.1 Government websites as agents

Government websites such as NHS.co.uk, Live-well Eat-well guide, and London.gov.uk have become an important source of seeking formal information regarding British consumption practices and trends in trends in the UK. Eleven respondents' spoke highly of the government websites which they considered reliable for general information on Britain.

> *'My first point of call I think would be to use the government websites'* **(Desiree).**
>
> *'The best source I noticed is the .gov. website. Anything you want you can find it there' (Ed).*
>
> *The .gov. website is excellent because you can easily find anything you want about Britain there'* **(Gloria).**
>
> *'I use government websites. They give me good and reliable information'* **(Martin).**
>
> *'The government here makes sure that they provide you with the information you need'* **(Travis).**

### 5.4.2 Educational institutions as agents

From the interviews conducted, educational institutions emerged as an important formal source of knowledge. Most respondents indicated that the university attended also enabled them to understand the British-UK culture on a wider level.

> *'... I kind of understand because of university .... That's where I get most of my information about being British'* **(Fatima).**
>
> *'At university where I am studying, there are various sources that I use to search for the information on UK culture. All this is*

*documented that's why I use these sources at university'* (**Travis).**

*'Well, understanding about UK food is important that's why the university is important to me'* **(Martin).**

### 5.4.3 The social media as an agent

Contemporary research on consumer acculturation has identified that there is still a lack of research on the role of social media as an acculturation agent (Kizgin et al., 2017; Kizgin et al., 2019; Yau et al., 2019). Social media has become an important source of information on many aspects of life from recipes to meal preparation methods for many individuals lately. Many individuals, therefore, turn to social media when it comes to seeking indigenous British food consumption patterns, practices and trends. In this regard, some of the respondents indicated that social media particularly YouTube was helpful to them when they were learning more specifically about preparing and cooking British foods. Elias stated:

*'The reason for using YouTube is you 'to learn how to cook new foods I find in the UK ….'* **(Elias).**

Some of the other other respondents including Gloria and Yolanda indicated their reliance on YouTube reviews left by others.

*'…I tend to learn a lot on YouTube. I tend to always go on their menu and their reviews and then yeah and take it from there'* (**Gloria).**

*'YouTube, you see …. When you scroll and someone liked a video of someone that's cooked something nice ….'* **(Yolanda).**

For some respondents, social media also provided videos to assist them with making decisions on eating out. Sandra stated:

> *'I think a lot of people especially on social media when they go to a restaurant, they tend to post what they are having ...'* (**Sandra).**

Yolanda used social media to inform her about cooking because it gives detailed information on the processes involved.

> *'Sometimes depending on who you follow on new social media on Snapchat where people video and show what they are doing. They will show you step by step of everything that they have done, and you think to yourself and say "oh" that's nice I am gonna try that' (***Yolanda)**

However, some married respondents also indicated their reliance on published materials such as cookery books as sources of formal information. Den and Gloria spoke of the role of these books:

> *'Cookbooks are readily available in stores' (***Den).**
>
> *'I prefer using ... cookery books. What is good about them is that you can identify the writers or publishers because if their information is misleading one can sue them'* (**Gloria).**

***Research Question 2: How do they make sense of their food consumption experiences?***

### 5.5 Symbolic Consumption

This theme recorded views of respondents on the symbolic role to their food consumption patterns. Sub-themes that emerged were identified as; food perceptions, what and where is home, emotions and memories of food experiences, food and relationships, the 'genderized' relationship and who am I around others?

### 5.5.1. Food Perceptions

Zimbabwean food was perceived to be better than other foods. Den considered Zimbabwean food as the best because it was healthy. He stated:

> *'Our Zimbabwean food is the best … No obesity but healthy people' (***Den).**

Ed also pointed out the taste of Zimbabwean food as a differentiating factor.

> *'Because if it's made from Zimbabwe, you will notice the differences, you will taste the difference'* **(Ed).**

Yolanda even identified differences in the coleslaw salad she ate in Zimbabwe and the ones in the UK supermarkets.

> *'That coleslaw, I can't get that taste anywhere else. I can go to Tesco and buy a tub of coleslaw I can go to Asda and still it will not be the same'* **(Yolanda).**

Some respondents had negative feelings about the taste of UK foods which was the main factor in delaying their adoption of new British foods.

> *'… my mother … put it on the table for us when we got here. I had my uncle with me, and he was eating it and loving it and there is me thinking no I need something better. But then having to taste it after some few months and eating over and over again it just became "oh that's actually nice'* **(Kudzi).**

Some of the other respondents talked about the food in the UK being bland saying that they had to add more spices to make the food tastier better.

> *'... very tasteless even up to now I have to put a lot of spices for me to enjoy'* **(Gloria).**
>
> *'... bland didn't have a lot of flavour to it.* W*e had to add a lot of spices if you wanted the food tasty'* **(Travis).**

Desiree had also added spices to her meals to make them taste better but this had now changed with time.

> *'… at first, I felt as though it tasted bland at times. … but in due time I became used to it and it became more-easier for me to eat'* (**Desiree).**

Gloria spoke of the changes in her food consumption patterns but still chose to identify UK food as *'their'* food.

> *'I now like the food from here but that was not the case before. I compared the food with the food we had back home. Because of that, I started eating their food….'* (**Gloria).**

### 5.5.2 What is home and where is it?

Home is an important symbolic concept. Some respondents used 'home' and ''family'' interchangeably. The excerpts below from Den, Kudzi and Martin provide evidence for this.

> *'The UK is not like home. 'Home' is the best. When you are 'home' you have people around you and here the last time I saw him was last year (2016)'* (**Den).**
>
> *'Home to me is family …'* (**Kudzi).**
>
> *'I value my family and when I say I am going home I will be going to my family …'* (**Martin).**

Similarly, Travis indicated that 'home' meant his family which he thinks provides the necessary safety for him.

> *'When you are around family you feel safe. That's why I always say that in my home where my family is, I am safe, and I do not fear anything or anyone or even what anyone will say …'* (*to my family …'* (**Travis**).

However, some of the other respondents highlighted the differences between school and 'home'. They indicated that the 'home' was about their parents' expectations while the dynamics in school was far different. Fatima stated:

> *'I understand that the dynamics at home and the dynamics at school are different'* (**Desiree**).
>
> *'My parents have always told me that what we do at school stays at school and what we do at home ….'*(**Fatima**).

In the case of Sandra, her home in the UK was meant to be an extension of Zimbabwe where the father expected Zimbabwean practices to take place.

> *'Coming here I was told by my parents that outside the house and at school, that was where the U.K was and never to bring that behaviour in our home. My dad used to say that this home is called Zimbabwe'* (**Sandra).**

Still, other respondents, including Kudzi, saw their home in the UK as an extension of Zimbabwe. Kudzi identified 'home' as a place where he had his early experiences of life and heritage.

> *'This is home for the English people. I belong elsewhere and that elsewhere is Zimbabwe because I was born there and not here. That is where my heritage is and where I spent the early years of my life. That's the place I would rather call home'* (**Kudzi).**

For Lilly home was a 'country' where she is likely to retire from work.

> *'I miss my Zimbabwe which is my home. England is not home, but home is where I will be when I retire…'* (**Lilly).**

In another dimension, respondents such as Gloria and Martin used the taste of food to differentiate the 'home' they spoke about.

> *'Our food back home was more organic compared to English food'* (**Gloria).**

*'... So, you could get some mealie meal here but again it doesn't taste as the one back home.'* (**Martin).**

Den and Yolanda used Shona food names to depict the

*'I ate things like 'manhuchi' [samp], 'mutakura' [a mixture of maize, peanuts, nuts(nyimo), cowpeas (nyemba) at home'* (**Den).**

*'After eating the food here, I gained weight and realised that the food at home Zimbabwe sadza, muriwo [green vegetables] madora [mopane worms] and maguru [tripe] were organic and better'* (**Yolanda).**

Some of the other respondents talked about how contrast between 'processed' and 'healthy' foods helped to represent home for them:

*'The food we eat at home here in Britain is different from the food we ate at home in Zimbabwe. Here the food is processed and its GMO's which make them not good for the body'* (**Kudzi).**

*'I also thought that the food here was mainly like processed, GMO. Food back home was so much more organic and natural and ... heathier ... '* (**Panashe).**

*'I tried the food and realised that the food we had in Zimbabwe was much better and healthy'* (**Yolanda).**

Finally, other respondents indicated that their 'home' meant 'home-cooked' food which was consumed with family.

*'... when I'm out in the field with work I end up having to buy a lot of takeaways ... which if am home I wouldn't even eat those'* (**Martin).**

*'So, it feels good to be home with my husband and family eating home-cooked sadza, maguru, boerewors and the list is endless watching T.V. just like we used to do in Zimbabwe'* (**Lilly).**

Munya used his regular food eating habits to identify home.

*'I eat Zimbabwean food at home. It's what we eat regularly; it's what I know as food. It's any typical day if I say I'm going home*

> *to eat, it's what I'm going to expect, what I'm expecting when I get there it's Zimbabwean food'* (**Munya).**

For Kudzi, home meant his mother doing the cooking and the family sharing the food.

> *'Home to me is family and sharing food. I would get excited knowing that I was going to receive well-cooked food from my mum'* (**Kudzi).**
>
> *'... at home, family is one thing that assists me in food choices and its mainly Zimbabwean food'* (**Kudzi).**

### 5.5.3 The emotions and memories of food experiences

For most respondents, the enjoyment of food meant connecting with their emotions and memories. This was in association with 'authentic' foods as well as the community events which took place. The enjoyment associated with eating these foods reflected mixed feelings. It appeared to some that memories were about being alone in boarding school, for others the emotions were about difficulties of being away from parents who had travelled and for others it was their early migration. 'Authentic' foods were recalled as food that connected with these memories and emotions.

Other respondents emphasised how they had maintained their food habits when they were in boarding schools in Zimbabwe.

> *'... Even up to now I still eat noodles stuff that I ate when I was in boarding school in Zimbabwe'* (**Elias).**

Gloria, now a married mother, goes as far as mixing the ingredients she finds in the UK to resemble the foods she had in school in Zimbabwe.

> *'... And you will see that there are certain foods like foods we used to mix and eat, I still do it'* (**Gloria).**

Panashe talked about the way life was good and they were selective in the foods they ate which excluded sadza.

> *'We used to have a very good life back home. We never ate sadza most of the times, we had some really good food and I miss those days. When I recall those days, it brings tears to my eyes'* (**Panashe).**

Ed identified bread smells and the period when things were getting less easy for them.

> *'The smell of fresh bread reminds me of Zimbabwe when things were slightly ok'* (**Ed).**

Lilly's experiences with food now reminded her of the time when her parents left for the UK.

> *'When my parents left me, I had to fight and fend food for myself. Whenever they sent me money I would go and buy ... pizza, rice and spaghetti. It was a difficult period for me knowing that ... our parents were gone to the UK'* (**Lilly).**

Some of the other respondents including Sandra and Kenny talked about food appearances in the early years of their time in Britain.

> '*The school dinners never appeared pleasant to me. It wasn't nice and when I came across that food, I feel sick. Now that I eat it not because I want to eat it but just to remind myself of the first time I arrived in Britain'* (**Sandra).**
>
> *'The food was not what we used to see on T.V when we were in Zimbabwe. I had a picture of beautiful food'* (**Kenny).**

It appeared that emotions and memories were re-enacted by the respondents seeking 'authentic' foods. Gloria and Panashe indicated this.

> *'... sometimes I get homesick and I miss food from back home. So, you see I may have to go online or look for shops that sell the food from back home'* (**Gloria).**
>
> *'I have this feeling where if I eat food that's not from my country for a while I ... I start to miss home in general'* (**Panashe).**

Kudzi had a specific food symbol.

> *'One ingredient that I normally use is Royco. I use that quite a lot in cooking food. It ... just takes you back to Zimbabwe. It's*

*like you are having food in Zimbabwe when you are here'* (**Kudzi).**

Sandra, however' talked about missing 'authentic' foods from Zimbabwe and her disappointment when she bought and cooked seemingly similar foods.

*'... there are times when I crave for sadza. The other day I was craving for sweet potatoes and I had to go out and find it and try to cook it. I was disappointed because it didn't taste the way I did want it to taste'* (**Sandra).**

### 5.5.4 Food and relationships

It appeared that food was generally used by the respondents to identify and establish relationships. Relationships were managed by mothers through the types of foods the respondents were 'allowed' and not allowed to eat. Many respondents expressed their concerns raised by their mothers about their food practices, for example:

*'... my mum is against takeaways, first of all'* (**Munya).**

*'We are not allowed to eat anything unhealthy .... Dad is not concerned but mum was and still is on my case when it comes to food…'* (**Ed).**

*'I eat fast foods when I am away from home with my friends. My mother does not even know that. She does not approve of us to eat these foods' (***Kudzi).**

Some of the other respondents felt that their mothers managed their food consumption which made it a negative experience:

*'... when mom visits me, she goes through my cupboards like now that's not good and then she'll go and do a whole grocery shopping for me at Tesco's ...'* **(Awa).**

*'I am here but the way my mother comes into my space dictating what I should and should not eat is not a good thing. She thinks I am still a young person. Cooking food is what you should do always' she says'* (**Kudzi).**

However, several other respondents including Ed, Sandra and Travis expressed their appreciation of their mother's cooking.

> *'... I only like my mom's cooking because it is the best'* (**Ed).**
>
> *'So yeah I think my mom's cooking is the best because she knows everything about cooking in the kitchen ...*' (**Sandra).**
>
> *'Who can beat my mum's cooking? No one can beat her. She cooks food from Zimbabwe, and it tastes nice'* **(Travis).**

The respondents talked about how they formed relationships when they were consuming food. Other respondents talked about their discussions surrounding food enabling them to establish relationships with other people. Ed and Lilly said:

> *'I love my food ... you can get to know someone. Do you know you can make friends by saying "oh my God we have got something in common" because of food?'* **(Lilly).**
>
> *'I have always made friends with people just by talking to them about their food. When I arrived in Britain, I did not know any Chinese foods. But one of my friends introduced them to me first instead of other foods'* **(Ed).**

### 5.5.5 The 'genderization' of roles

Some female respondents indicated the importance of adhering to Zimbabwean cultural practices which meant that there were specific roles for women. Yolanda, Fatima, Desiree and Lilly said:

> *'I have a great respect for our heritage and culture which dedicates certain roles to women. I do not think it is a good thing for a man to be deciding on what the family should eat day and night. This keeps us grounded and I will stick to it' (***Yolanda).**
>
> *'... in the olden days, women were responsible for the cooking and looking after the family. I feel comfortable doing so. It's part of me and my culture. Culture and heritage define me as a woman. This is not bound to change in anyway'* **(Fatima).**

> *'In any African household … you will find that women do the cooking. So, here I am the one that does all of the household chores?* (**Desiree).**

> *'There are things that are likely to change but I will not let go of my culture because it's part of my identity and my heritage. We are not white people who let their husbands cook. You see many thinks that the UK citizenship they have got [means] they should act like one. They will take it away from you one day. If that's the case I want my daughter to be prepared' (***Lilly).**

Most of the female respondents talked about their experiences and the expected roles for a woman in preparation for marriage.

> *'I am constantly asking my mother about cooking sadza and other vegetables we used to eat in Zimbabwe. It's not that I want to learn but you never know I might get married soon'* (**Yolanda).**

> *'In preparation for marriage, it is something that I now find myself discussing with my mother. She has had a good marriage with my father, so, I definitely would listen to her when she talks about Zimbabwean food'* (**Sandra).**

> *'My mother's input on Zimbabwean food is more reliable. I intend on asking her all the time until I have my own family'* (**Fatima).**

Awa, who was already in a relationship and about to get married, emphasized the importance of food practices and the expectations of her 'African' boyfriend.

> *'I'm looking to get married to someone from Africa. Basing on the situation that I'm in now, I'm dating an African guy who likes his African food …'* (**Awa).**

Lilly showed her appreciation for the household management skills she learned and how this is now applied in her married life.

> *'But I have realised that you know at this age that I am now married I have got my child, I have got my husband you know, I appreciate*' (**Lilly).**

The married male respondents, Martin and Den, talked about their wives cooking for them and their families.

*'... when I got married there is a lot of cooking because ... makes sure that almost every day there is cooked meal ...'* **(Martin).**

*'My wife does the cooking for us. She is good when it comes to cooking and finding the best ingredients from Zimbabwe'* **(Den).**

Married female respondents also spoke of how they applied their learned cooking skills.

*'Now that I am a mother, I am always trying to make food that is healthy for my children. So, as a mother, I am willing to feed my children with that good food'* **(Gloria).**

*'Sometimes I tend to ask them "what do you want me to cook for you?" They will be like "oh we miss sadza" or you can cook rice" or they can ask me "what do you want us to cook?'* **(Lilly).**

Lilly also talked about their family's teachings on household management skills which they now appreciate.

*'My grandparents were like you know those people who were always teaching you do this. Although it was hard that time, to be honest, I was thinking "oh they don't even love me, they keep asking me to do this and that...*' **(Lilly).**

### 5.5.6 Who am I around others?

It became evident from the interviews that the respondents expressed their desire to fit into British society where they currently belong. However, there were still some Zimbabwean practices which they were not willing to relinquish.

Kudzi mentioned his previous Zimbabwean culture, where he came from, as an important aspect in defining himself in the UK.

*'... I was taught the Zimbabwean way of doing things ... like being taught never to forget your identity, forget where you came from, and forget your culture. That's your number one thing. So,*

> *to me, I have never really seen myself as taking the UK identity. '* (**Kudzi).**

Yolanda saw culture and heritage as important factors that differentiated her from others in the UK. She also showed how being in the UK created an identity that was important for her but 'unreliable'.

> *'I am Zimbabwean because of my culture. I will never take away my heritage. That's who I identify as a person. But at the same time, I am in UK because that's where I am, that's what's surrounding me and that's where I have grown up and the influences I have grown up with. But ultimately being Zimbabwean defines who I am. Because, if they are to say you are not UK get out, to a certain extent I may have to get out because even though I am UK on paper, I was born in Zimbabwe, my parents are Zimbabwean, my whole heritage is Zimbabwean, I was born Zimbabwean'* (**Yolanda).**

For Kenny, it wasn't the material things in Britain that defined him, but the place where his parents come from and language were considered as important.

> *'I may have all the things that I want in this country, but I should tell you what most people fail to understand; they fail to understand that this is not our country. Where our parents come from is where we are from and that makes us different from everyone. Language is also important. When I tell my children in future about Zimbabwe, I should not say it in English but in my language.' (***Kenny).**

Elias noticed that time spent in one place can be vital in changing what they were accustomed to albeit not relinquishing their past:

> *'You can't really say that you are Zimbabwean anymore after living away for like maybe 15-20 years because that's not who you are anymore, you know you get accustomed to something else. So, I would say I'm part Zimbabwean but more UK now'* (**Elias).**

A majority of respondents said they had lived in Britain for many years and that their food consumption patterns were changing. They were now accepting other foods although they were still maintaining their Zimbabwean habits after staying in the UK for some time.

*'... having lived here for so long, I have noticed ... that the food I am eating is changing. It might be changing but I still have my Zimbabwean food. So, I ate sadza and other Zimbabwean foods so that I couldn't lose it.'* (**Ed).**

*'My cupboard is slowly filling up with ready-made meals, Asian foods. It wasn't like this when I came here. I have been here for nearly 20 years. Don't get me wrong even though I have these Asian foods, I have gradually been moving away from food from Zimbabwe. Let me tell you the truth, there are other foods that I can't leave'* (**Lilly).**

Some of the other respondents attributed their changes to their food taste ideas which had changed over time

*'At first, I didn't think it tasted nice... The taste didn't sit well with me but in time I now became used to it. But at first, I felt as though it tasted bland at times. ... but in due time I became used to it and it became more-easier for me to eat'* (**Desiree).**

*'I just don't know it just tasted different you know. Maybe it was something I was just not used to, and it just tasted different from what I know. But then having to taste it after some few months and eating over and over again it just became "oh that's actually nice'* (**Kudzi).**

Several other respondents talked of how food explicitly helped to define them. Examples include:

*'... I am happier when I eat sadza so that defines me ...'* (**Lilly).**

*'I am Zimbabwean ... out of ... 7 days, 5 days we eat sadza in the house and probably two-three days we eat rice and pasta. So, you know I am Zimbabwean. And definitely, sadza defines me ....'* (**Kudzi).**

Other respondents' food consumption patterns around family members were maintained in the early years of their time in Britain. They mentioned that;-

*'What a typical household of Zimbabwe eat is what we eat'* (**Munya).**

*'Our parents bought us everything we ate. This food was in most cases food from Zimbabwe'* (**Travis).**

Similarly, for Panashe,

*'Depending on where people come from because in South Africa, Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries we all eat similar foods. So, the people that I hang around are all from like similar places ....'* (**Panashe).**

Some of the other respondents discussed how their food consumption patterns keep changing to their surroundings while they pursued new cuisines.

*'... with food, I am all over the place. So, just depending on that moment, what environment I am in or what mood I'm in, I can just go into different foods. So, I don't think there is food that defines me ....'* (**Elias).**

*'I can have sadza right now if I want or I can go down to the chip shop and have a fish and chips and I can make a cup of tea. At the same time, I can go to and buy rice and peas and curry goat, or I can go and take away curry'* (**Yolanda**).

*'Like now, because of being in different cultures, if I am to choose what to eat, I would choose something that I do not normally eat .... when we did that cultural event where we had different foods, I didn't go to what was similar to what I eat at home. I ate what was much different from what I know and what I have in Zimbabwe'* (**Kudzi).**

Some respondents said that their food habits had changed - giving them mixed identities.

*"I am a typical Zimbabwean/UK person. I am aware I do consume Zimbabwean food, but I am also aware in some situations I cannot be eating Zimbabwean food. But coming here you have UK culture, you have got the Asian culture, you have got other different cultures from Africa as well that I have sort of integrated with..."* (**Munya).**

*'I was Zimbabwean when I came but now, I wouldn't say I am Zimbabwean because I feel like even if I go back to Zimbabwe today, I am still going to be wanting to eat UK food like I'm used to'* (**Elias).**

*'Zimbabwean food is still in my house, but I have to mix with other foods. You see experience and exposure is good because*

*you do not want to miss out on the goodness of this life. Mixing my Zimbabwean food with other foods is ok by me'* (**Sandra).**

Several other respondents explained the difficulties of adjusting and accommodating two food cultures.

*'... To fit in you are either UK or to fit in Zimbabwe, you feel like you are torn from one side to the other. So, if you have certain food and people didn't expect that it's like "so what are you English now.' (**Fatima).***

*'... I would say Sandra is a girl being raised in 2 cultures and she has tasted a bit of Zimbabwean and she has tasted a bit of England and they come together and form her ... I said although most of the times I have Zimbabwean food there are times I'm craving UK food…'* (**Sandra).**

Other respondents said that their food patterns were about fitting in by eating similar foods as their friends.

*'Us Zimbabweans we all eat our food from home, but we can't eat that for the rest of our lives. We have to probably eat something different which is more likely to be from a different culture'* (**Panashe).**

*'I have friends that come from different places. For example, Jamaicans like Jamaican food quite a lot. They have introduced me to their food while visiting their house when they have cooked some food.'* (**Yolanda).**

*'Every time I am with my friends, I tend to eat what they eat. I have also given them food from the country, and they realised that we all use hands to eat'* (**Sandra).**

For Desiree and Yolanda having communities from different cultures had brought them to accept and understand other food consumption practices.

*'So, you know being around people of different cultures and seeing what they eat ... influences me.'* (**Yolanda).**

*'... because of my exposure to many other European countries, I engage in more food eaten by people of a different race to me. So, I think due to growing up in the western world played a part because I am now exposed to western foods, whereas if I grew up*

*more in Africa, my food choice would be based on African food more'*(**Desiree).**

***Research Questions 3: How does the ethnic restaurant impact on their sense of identity, and enable them to deal with any tensions they experience?***

### 5.6. Eating out

The restaurant information provided the contextual data of the eating-out places which were mentioned by the respondents during interviews as they took their food consumption practices into the public space. The restaurant space is an artificial, specially created *public* consumption place defined by the way it represents the consumption of food as a collective 'cultural' experience. The aim was to describe the different components used to create this *representation* and how these were perceived by the respondents. The choice of the three restaurants (Nando's, Nakira and e'Khaya) has already been explained in chapter four. Nando's is a global chain which employs professional designers to produce restaurant spaces that look similar. This thesis focuses on its branch in Wednesfield Bentley Bridge. Nakira Bar and Grill began as a single outlet that was professionally designed. e'Khaya is a family-run restaurant space designed by the owner as an amateur.

#### 5.6.1 The three Restaurants

Table 5.1 below shows the detailed symbolic representation information of the three restaurants across all the five aspects of the adapted FAMM model. These components were identified as important in the creation of the atmosphere that the respondents were seeking.

**Table 5.1 A comparison of the three restaurants using the FAMM framework**

| Restaurant | Management Control Systems | The Physical environment | The Meeting | The Product | Atmosphere |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Nando's** | Nando's chain restaurant with processes controlled by their head office in South Africa unlike Nakira which is run by two Zimbabweans in Britain and e'Khaya is a family business. This brings advantages of accessing the correct ingredients which enable for the maintenance of food quality. Heavy capital input can be seen in standardised advertising and processes. | South African and Portuguese restaurant identity maintained through décor and brand story for standardisation purposes. Décor and sound are strategically used to convey their identity although they are dominated by South African artefacts. Being located in a retail park has Nando's limited just to indoor décor. This makes them different from the 'authentic' African homely experiences presented at e'Khaya. | Standardized commercial product and processes hence staff is trained to fit in with minimal interaction with different groups of customers. The interaction between customers involves people from different backgrounds and cultures consuming similar foods. | Commercialised and adapted elements of the food. Maintained mixed cultures (South African and Portuguese). Adapted to suit the local palate. For example, Halal. Mixes of foods are eaten using both fingers and cutlery. Most of their food comes prepared and they have to follow a manual on the processes of making the food edible according to Nando's standards set by their head-office. The main ingredient that connects them with southern Africa is the peri-peri spice and is their trademark too. | Nando's standardised commercial appearance and adapted menu work in tandem to offer the customers a bridged ethnic food experience. This is achieved by the way the staff is recruited, their décor and the food they serve. Thus, Nando's abstract symbolic presentation of Africa and African cuisine and the adaptations attracts the inbetweeners. Nando's standardised processes make them to rely heavily on pre-cooked foods to quicken and maintain their process. The atmosphere encourages diversity hence people from different backgrounds are in most of the marketing materials. |
| **Nakira** | Being a restaurant that is owned by Zimbabweans, the systems in this place have been driven to offer a variety of foods they refer to as African foods. They have also used what seems like African traditional attire, artefacts and game meat on their menu to convey their | Nakira's set up is similar to Nando's. They have adopted various aspects of African traditions while embracing their new cosmopolitan environment. Like Nando's Bentley Bridge, their building is in a confined inner-city location and the professional designers of both restaurants have also used | Staff here serves the food they know of. Customer interactions are similar to Nando's because people with various 'African' cultural backgrounds are served at the same time in the same room. A few other groups ma visit to try the menu because of their location in a | Not commercialised but driven by diverse environment and competition. Distinct African cuisines are distinct due to location and customers aligned with the owners' concept of African restaurant. The foods and menu are all used to capture and try to 'authenticate' the 'African' food. Unlike Nando's which follows standardised processes, Nakira does semi-scratch cooking some of | Nakira's atmosphere is upmarket, cosmopolitan and this is evidenced in their food presentations which makes Nakira different from Nando's which is in a retail part and e'Khaya outside a Dudley town centre. Due to their location the ethnic southern African atmosphere is drowned with other 'African' cultures in this neighbourhood. The food experience at Nakira is more about being 'African' than being |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | African identity in the middle of Birmingham. Nakira unlike Nando's seem to focus more on game food and the silhouettes as some form of semi-abstract representation of Africa and ethnic story. | this interior décor to represent their ethnic story. | cosmopolitan city such as Birmingham. | their foods. The traditional foods are prepared from scratch while burgers, boerwors and chips are brought in readymade. | Zimbabwean. The abstraction of 'Africanness' is in the images and game meats but also other African foods from other regions. |
| **E'Khaya** | Sole trader with limited finances has utilised the outside space to differentiate their restaurant from Nando's and Nakira. The management systems here attempt to create a 'home' feeling where people assume, they are in the back garden. The financial limitations have also affected the quality and the space for advertising hence their website and social media are their platforms where they do their marketing. | Nakira chose a different path to satisfy their customers. Due to limited space, e'Khaya managed to utilise their back garden with astroturf to create a 'home' feel to their restaurant. | Staffs including the chef are Zimbabweans and their interaction with customers is much closer than that of Nando's and Nakira. The staff's food knowledge is not from training, but they have experienced these Zimbabwean foods. | Different from Nando's and Nakira-Food is not adapted and the menu is narrow focusing on Zimbabwean traditional cuisine. Symbolically the food is used to represent Zimbabwean culture. Most foods at e'Khaya are eaten using finger. | e'Khaya's atmosphere is very much Zimbabwean. This is evidenced in the way they have maintained the 'authentic' food which takes time to cook, their use of staff from Zimbabwe who have or are still experiencing these food patterns. Their use of outside space and the encouragement of people to use their fingers when eating food makes them different from Nando's and Nakira in enhancing ethnic restaurant experience. Foods such as sadza are not consumed using cutlery. |

Eating out is about exploration and food identity negotiation. Some respondents talked about their experiences when they went to eat out in restaurants. These experiences varied and they included conflicting relationships with family and friends. The sub-themes which emerged included *negotiating the restaurant space* and *eating out to experiment*.

These restaurants were discussed by the respondents as important places for their symbolic public food consumption practices. The respondents discussed the need to negotiate with their friends when they went to eat out in these restaurants.

> *'I think it's due to ... affordability ...' (*Ed)
>
> *'When I am with my friends ... I compromise ...' 'If I am with friends, I think it's a mutual agreement.' (***Panashe).**

Some of the other respondents talked about eating similar foods with their friends.

> *'We all like similar foods'* (**Munya).**
>
> *'I and my friends eat at similar foods when we go out to restaurants ...'* (**Travis).**
>
> *'It's about the same food and the same restaurants we do not change'* (**Fatima).**

Gloria, a mother of one, who also runs her own business talked about eating out in a renowned Michelin restaurant because of the types of foods they serve.

> *'I have about two restaurants that I always go to once every month. There is a Marco Pierre White.... I enjoy Michelin restaurants more than anything. They cook their food slowly.'* (**Gloria).**

Martin, also a company owner, explained that the quantities and the types of foods he now eats at Nando's have changed.

> *'... I would say there is a change in the things we order at Nando's because before you could just go and say you need platter you know for the family a platter maybe you could just get that for 20 pounds the whole family...'* (**Martin).**

Some of the other respondents indicated their preference for eating out due to their busy lifestyles.

> *'The main thing I can say about the food is that it's easy to just eat fast food. Because the lifestyle here is so busy.'* (**Elias).**
>
> *'I started eating fast food when I left home for university. Because I was constantly busy with no time at all'* (**Desiree).**

The respondents spoke about how their eating out food choices were at times limited by and challenged by their parents.

> *'If I am with family ... it's more to do with parents ...'* (**Munya).**
>
> *'My mum sat down and said, "ah no way I can make this at home ... and my dad looked at the menu then he was like "... this is just wasting money'* (**Sandra).**
>
> *'Usually, when I am with family it's my dad that usually decides or my mum and dad they usually decide. They make a decision and say you know what "today we are going to have this food ...'* (**Panashe).**
>
> *'... if it was with my parents and if we say let's go to an Indian restaurant, they will say no ...'* (**Kenny).**

Some of the other respondents appreciated parental control and food choices.

> *'You do not have a choice of like "no I do not feel like that today mum, I want to have this." No, what is cooked is what you are going to have. Unless you are allergic, you are going to eat what's there.'* (**Yolanda).**
>
> *'Mostly it's my mom, for the respect that she is my mom, I just have to listen to her and eat what she tells me. She is a nurse and knows what is best for me'* (**Ed).**

Many respondents agreed that they had no problems with eating out at Nando's with their families.

'*So, we would … rather go to Nando's. I have no problems with Nando's because their food is done to an international standard'* (**Kenny).**

*'Nando's is a special place. We used to eat at Nando's in Zimbabwe. Now here with my family, we do not have problems with their food. It might be different because they have adjusted it for the UK people. I may have changed as well and may be my parents, but we like it there'* (**Fatima).**

*'They call it acquiring the taste for sure. I and my parents tend to agree on Nando's …'* (**Ed).**

The respondents talked about being drawn to restaurants because of the ambience.

*'… I like Nando's …. You will hear clean African music, sometimes you hear the odd Oliver Mtukudzi playing in there. It brings an African sense to it … which makes you comfortable in the place*' (**Travis).**

Awa saw Nakira as South African. She stated:

*'I went to one new one opened in Birmingham called Nakira. It's a South African restaurant it was nice I ate some South African food. There were sadza and stuff and yeah it was quite nice and different, and they were playing South African music, it was nice'* (**Awa).**

But for Ed, it was Zimbabwean,

*'Going to Nakira reminds me of the way we used to have food in a village in Zimbabwe. … the blurring Zimbabwean music they constantly play makes the place different from other restaurants ….'* (**Ed).**

e'Khaya, however, was defined unambiguously as Zimbabwean by Kudzi:

*'I liked the menu and the food. e'Khaya is a good place. I think the way they have their food prepared, the songs playing on their T. V's and just having people from Zimbabwe come in to eat'* (**Kudzi).**

Some respondents explicitly compared Nando's to other restaurants:

*'Nando's is an easy choice for us as a family. I have been to e'Khaya and I struggled to find something to eat. I know the food, but they cook exactly the same way we do at home'* (**Elias).**

> *'... We did not have any issues with eating at Nakira because they have different cuisines from the U.K and other parts of Africa. Choosing both Nando's and Nakira was not that difficult. They have their food adapted which makes it easy for my family to choose'* **(Den).**
>
> *'K.F.C chicken is full of oil and its fattening. Nando's chicken is flame-grilled and there is nothing like that. My family like it at Nando's ...'* **(Lilly).**

Several respondents said that at e'Khaya restaurant that fact that the food was only from Zimbabwe limited their experiences.

> '*e'Khaya is nice when you want to meet up with Zimbabweans, but their menu is too narrow which is problematic whenever we go there as a family'* **(Travis).**
>
> *'I like the ambience it reminds you of Zimbabwe, but I have always argued with my family about going there to eat. The experience is the same that you would get when you have your family. Nothing new and nothing to write home about ...'* **(Kudzi).**
>
> '*I have been there and all they have is sadza, maguru [tripe], boerewors and other foods that I can cook for myself'* **(Fatima).**

### 5.6.2 Eating out to experiment

Eating out also offered respondents' opportunities to experiment with other foods, since Britain has many cultures. These qoutes from Kenny, Kudzi and Lilly showed how they experimented with a variety of foods in Britain.

> *'... we like to try new things. So, we can get to say you know what ... today let's go and try Indian food, we can go to an Indian restaurant'* **(Kenny).**
>
> *'We are always going places and trying new foods…. We follow restaurants on Instagram and Facebook, and they post new foods there. Each time they post new foods I guarantee you the following weekend we are there trying it out'* **(Kudzi).**
>
> *'Each time we are together she is showing me new restaurants where get to try these new foods.'* **(Lilly).**

## 5.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter has shown evidence for answering the three planned research questions discussed in this thesis.

*Research Question 1: What types of food consumption do the inbetweeners experience?*

**Table 5.1 Research question 1 Themes**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Foundations** | Past experiences |
| | Looking backwards |
| | Looking around now. |
| | The Constraints |
| **Finding out** | Informal sources of knowledge |
| | Formal sources of knowledge |

This chapter has addressed the impact of different types of foods consumption patterns experienced by the respondents. It has shown the role of social interactions in different settings and how these influence their knowledge of different foods. Results suggest that their upbringing in Zimbabwe was instrumental in their approach to food consumption in the UK. Those who left Zimbabwe slightly older discussed in more depth how this early consumer socialization in Zimbabwe shaped their eating patterns in the UK. A common theme that emerged from the respondents' comments was that their parents, among other influences had a significant role in their learning about, and, maintenance of Zimbabwean food consumption practices and habits in the UK. This was even stronger among the female respondents. Their mothers made sure that they were accustomed to Zimbabwean food patterns making them the perpetuators of these patterns. The findings have shown that the availability of the foods influenced

their food practices. In contrast, information sources influenced the inbetweeners either by providing information on Zimbabwean or British food practices. Therefore, when it came to understanding food, the respondents were able to show the distinctions in sources of information and how they influenced their food patterns and what this meant for their identity.

The following themes and subthemes addressed the second objective and the second research question.

*Research Question 2: How do they make sense of their food consumption experiences?*

**Table 5.2 Research question 2 Themes**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Symbolic consumption** | Food perceptions |
| | What and where is home? |
| | Emotions and memories of food experiences |
| | Food and relationships |
| | Who am I around others? |
| | The ‘genderization’ of roles |

The respondents showed that food was consumed symbolically by the inbetweeners. The findings have shown that food was also used to draw distinctions between what were good and bad food patterns as a way of justifying Zimbabwean foods patterns. Food practices symbolically represented ‘home’ which was also identified as ‘floating’ and was contextually defined in these food practices. Therefore, they used food to negotiate the space they identified as ‘home’. They also used food to connect and construct their memories of a Zimbabwe which had left behind. Other practices represented their relationships with the society at large including their roles occupied

in their homesteads. These included ‘genderised’ roles and relationships within their family and relationships with their parents and mothers. In addition, food was used by the respondents to construct their identity as they interacted with other communities.

The following themes and subthemes addressed the third research question of the thesis.

*Research Question 3: How does the ethnic restaurant impact on their sense of identity, and enable them to deal with any tensions they experience?*

**Table 5.3: Research question 3 Themes**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Eating out** | Negotiating the restaurant space |
| | Eating out to experiment |

The respondents positively discussed the tensions they experienced when they went to eat in these ethnic restaurants. Nostalgic experiences were found to be influential particularly when they consumed foods at Nando’s restaurant. This to an extent, influenced some of their decisions around food and who they ate with. The respondents demonstrated that they had an understanding of external forces and the various sources of symbolic meanings that surrounded them. The respondents also demonstrated that eating out involved negotiating their food patterns around others while in some instances they experienced tensions with others. The respondents also engaged with the ideas, novelty, symbols, and meanings attached to food. The symbolism of food was strong, but also the ethnic restaurant was a place where they tried new foods from other communities.

# CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

## 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have presented the findings from this research. This chapter presents the discussion of the research findings from the interview data. The discussion is structured around the research questions presented in chapter one namely:

(i) *What types of food consumption practices did the inbetweeners experience?*

(ii) *How do the inbetweeners make sense of their food consumption experiences?*

(iii) *How do ethnic restaurants impact on the sense of identity of the inbetweeners?*

The chapter discusses how various factors influence food consumption experiences and how this, in turn, is incorporated within food culture and identity construction. The discussion also shows the importance of incorporating ideas like those of imagined community, banal forms of identity, and myths of authenticity to understand food consumption practices amongst the inbetweeners.

Before the detailed discussion, it is important to emphasize two issues. First, it is not the aim of this study to ignore the fact that the inbetweeners had a form of identity before any new food consumption practices were experienced. However, since the previous analysis in chapters five and six has shown that identity is fluid. This discussion focuses more on their new identity in Britain where they encountered new

food experiences in combination with their Zimbabwean food experiences which were usually remembered, or even *imagined*, with *nostalgia*. Second, whilst this research does not seek to minimise the wider contributions of more universal theories and concepts by over-emphasizing the specific context of the UK, the argument is that context does influence the distinctiveness of the food consumption experience of the inbetweeners.

The first section discusses the food experiences of the inbetweeners. The second section explores how the inbetweeners make sense of these food experiences and the symbolic meanings that are associated with these food consumption patterns. The third section provides a discussion on the way the respondents perceived the ethnic restaurants as public places of food consumption and their relationship to the identity formation.

### 6.2 Food experiences of the inbetweeners

The findings suggest that migrants develop their food experiences through the various elements of the food consumption process which are encountered in the process of their migration. In the case of the inbetweeners, they have developed a variety of food experiences in the UK. To make sense of this, the thesis proposes a simple model set out in figure 6.1.

**Table 6.1. The Components of In-Betweener Acquisition of Food Knowledge and Understanding**

| ***Context*** | | ***Food acculturation agents*** | | ***Forms of acculturation*** | | ***Individual differences*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Food consumption adoption | | Age at migration |
| Multi dimensionality | → | Informal to Formal | → | Food consumption rejection | → | Time in UK |
| | | | | Food consumption adaption | | Financial Independence |
| Dynamism | → | Weak to strong | → | Food consumption separation | → | Gender |

**Source:** Developed by the author (2020)

The in-betweener consumer acculturation process depends first on contextual factors which involve a set of multi-dimensional and dynamic food experiences (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Dey et al., 2019). The inbetweeners were exposed to a variety of new foods through their schools and associations with members of other communities in the UK. This experience cut across both local Zimbabwean food consumption practices as well as British and other ethnic foods. They then encountered a variety of food acculturation agents. This produces a broad pattern of acculturation which is then further differentiated at the individual level with some demographic characteristics playing a particularly important role.

### 6.2.1 Context – multi-dimensionality and dynamic of food experiences

The acquisition of food experiences by the inbetweeners, including their eating patterns, were multi-dimensional rather than bi-dimensional. This means that their

food experiences were not only about the imagined ‘homeland’ and ‘host’ foods but included other ethnic community food practices found in the UK as well as the compromises they made to eat their ‘home’ food. The findings reflect the fact that the UK, as a migrant-receiving country, is a multi-ethnic society that embraces significant cultural diversity and ethnic practices. The in-betweeners, therefore, experienced a much wider variety of foods in the UK than in Zimbabwe.

In the findings in chapter 5.2.3.3, the thesis showed that the respondents mentioned eating iconic ‘British dishes’ such as Yorkshire pudding and ‘*Sunday roast’.* These findings also showed that they experienced other ethnic foods. Yolanda referred to eating *‘Caribbean’*, Desiree eating ‘*Chinese*’ while Den talked of eating *‘Indian’* foods in UK restaurants.

The food consumption experiences of the inbetweeners in the UK were also affected by consumer dynamism which is influenced by wider socio-cultural factors. Usually, when individuals migrate, they carry with them their previous food culture in which experiences were already to some degree influenced by technology, social media, and globalisation. But upon arrival, the inbetweeners in the UK, were exposed to a much more highly dynamic consumer culture where food consumption practices respond more to the changes in consumer demand and behaviour. The evidence here therefore, supports the classic post-structuralist understanding of the way societies, and the foods they consume, are dynamic and evolving so that national cuisines are not static and given but dynamic (Pechurina, 2018).

### 6.2.2 Food acculturation agents

The literature review in chapter three established that consumer acculturation is the process of adaptations that consumers make to various conditions in the market (Luedicke, 2011). In teasing out the acculturation process from the interviewees, it became evident that three kinds of acculturation agents emerged. These can be classified as informal, semi-formal and formal acculturation agents. It also became evident that these agents can be found either in a stronger or weaker form based on the various ethnic or social groups which the inbetweeners encountered in their journeys. Table 6.2, developed for this research, therefore proposes that the role of acculturation agents can be analysed in terms of their degree of formality and their strength.

**Table 6.2 Acculturation agents for the inbetweeners**

| | **Informal** | **Semi-formal** | **Formal** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Zimbabwe** | Strong | Weak | Weak |
| **UK** | Medium/strong | Strong | Strong |
| **Ethnic other** | Medium/strong | Medium | Medium |

**Source:** Developed by Author (2020)

By informal agents, the research refers to processes embodied in the everyday food practices and face to face conversations with family and friends. The semi-formal agents were the social media. Formal agents were those that were institutionalised, documented or government-supported.

In terms of the development and perpetuation of Zimbabwean focused food patterns in the UK the findings showed that parents/ family, peers, and the Zimbabwean

diaspora network acted as strong informal acculturation agents. Respondents talked on a personal and face to face level learning about food ingredients to use in their cooking, accessing shops selling Zimbabwean foods in the U.K. The findings in chapter 5.2.1 showed that the past experiences of these agents framed their reliable experiences hence the inbetweeners preferred a face to face conversation from these informal agents. In the case of Munya it was his parents that have made him to maintain eating *'traditional Zimbabwean food'*. Gloria mentioned about *'the older' peoples*' experiences because they had *'cooked these foods in Zimbabwe'* as one of the reasons for relying on speaking to them on an informal basis.

Chapter two showed that the Zimbabwean community in the UK is small and therefore has a limited number of choices of where to find Zimbabwean foods. Given the Zimbabwean diaspora is small, semi-formal agents in the form of social media played a weaker role in the consumer acculturation process. This is because not many people including the inbetweeners trust the information that is published on social media. The formal consumer acculturation agents were disregarded by the inbetweeners because of their lack of trust in them. One inbetweener mentioned that '*we Zimbabweans we do not write down*', indicating a lack of trust of more formal acculturation agents.

When it came to other ethnic acculturation agents' friends and peers had a significant role too. These were their peers from other groups such as the Afro-Caribbean and other African communities. In some instances, the inbetweeners felt compelled to consume foods along ethnic lines such as the Caribbean and Cameroonian foods introduced to them by their friends from these ethnic groups. Fatima explained that her choices were influenced by her Caribbean friend and that this even affected her

consumption of Zimbabwean foods when she ate out. Because they ate with their friends in their homes this too had an impact on their acculturation strategies. These ranged between medium to strong in terms of their influence. Semi-formal acculturation agents including social media proved to be a strong influence as it exposed the inbetweeners to more ethnic foods. On the other hand, formal acculturation agents proved to have a medium role as they approached these in a limited fashion.

The respondents referred to video streaming sites such as YouTube and Snapchat as sources for learning practically other food patterns. The respondents used these to explore and experiment with UK food practices and foods from other parts of the world and other ethnic communities they had come across in the UK. This can be seen in Elias's comment on how YouTube had influenced his ability to cook new foods after watching YouTube videos. Similarly, Gloria confirmed the role of social media in her acquisition of other food consumption practices in the UK. She used '*YouTube reviews',* to inform her about new food practices. While Yolanda relied on the '*step by step'* of the cooking process shared by others on social media.

Previous research on food acculturation for migrants has largely ignored the importance of social media as an acculturation agent and its influence on their food and acculturation process. This research, however, reinforces the importance of social media in the wider growing body of acculturation discussion (Kizgin et al., 2019). The findings in this thesis suggest that it is a weak agent when it is addressing the migrant's 'imagined homeland' food but stronger for UK food patterns while moderate for the food patterns of other ethnic communities.

For UK acculturation, these findings revealed that formal educational systems influenced the inbetweeners knowledge and new food consumption skills. Chapter 5.2.3.1 findings showed that formal schooling was especially important in giving both an introduction and access to other cultures and other foods. Den and Yolanda stated the differences in culture and how they learnt about it in school. Fatima too indicated that the school has been a major factor in her acculturation process in Britain. She stated the way the UK school system had a *'way of doing things'* which eventually made them to participate in the new activities where they were exposed to these new food practices.

The inbetweeners found that the educational system had a curriculum which encouraged students to learn about other cultures. This was their part of learning about multiculturalism in the UK. School also introduced variety. Kenny indicated that he tried new foods at '*dinner time'* in school. Similarly, Fatima and Sandra pointed out that they came '*across new foods'* in school. It was at school too that other friends from other communities were often found who gave them food to eat.

### 6.2.3 Consumer Acculturation Strategies

The consumer acculturation process for the inbetweeners was dynamic and multi-dimensional due to various factors including those that the inbetweeners interacted with on their migration journey. These factors include the imagined homeland, ethnic communities, educational institutions, age, gender, marital status, migration, economic status and finally the migration journey and length of stay. Chapter 3.6 noted the extensive literature in consumer acculturation theory on how migrants adopt different acculturation strategies when they meet other cultures in the host country

(Penaloza, 1994; Dey et al., 2019). The inbetweeners moved on a continuum from being unacculturated to adopting some of these consumer acculturation strategies.

Table 6.3 shows the different food acculturation strategies available to the inbetweeners. This research, therefore, rejects the view that migrants must be either assimilationists or integrationists (Berry, 1997; Choudhary et al., 2019). These are analysed here as food consumption *rejection*, food consumption *adoption*, food consumption *adaptation* and lastly food consumption *separation*.

**Table 6.3 Acculturation strategies**

| Acculturation strategies | Process involved |
|---|---|
| **Food consumption rejection** | Migrants that do not desire to adopt either the host and home country food patterns. There may be rejection of host food patterns because of *imposed exclusion*, *discrimination*, and *negative attitudes* by the host community. They also reject '*home*' food because they feel 'forced' to consume these foods or they feel they no longer relate to these homeland patterns. |
| **Food consumption adoption** | Here migrants adopt their host country's eating patterns accepting fully the new food patterns. Some migrants may not assimilate due to negative experiences with the host community. |
| **Food consumption adaption** | This involves the migrants incorporating other foods in the host country including host and other ethnic communities. |
| **Food consumption separation** | Here migrants cherish their home country food consumption patterns associated with their heritage. They separate themselves from other food patterns by maintaining their home country eating patterns. |

**Source**: Developed by author (2020) from Penaloza (1994)

### 6.2.3.1 Food consumption rejection strategy

In this thesis the findings suggest that the first acculturation strategy adopted by some inbetweeners was food consumption *rejection*. This refers to the process where migrants did not have any desire to adopt *either* the food consumption patterns of the host country, *or* home country food patterns.

Migrants may reject host food consumption patterns because such patterns may be imposed leading to social exclusion or discrimination by the host community. On the other hand, migrants may also reject their original or 'home' food because they feel 'forced' to consume these foods possibly due to parental or community pressure. Another factor was that they feel they no longer relate to the eating patterns in their imagined homeland they do not fit anymore. The findings from this study indicate that some of the inbetweeners rejected UK food patterns and at the same time also rejected Zimbabwean food consumption patterns. These inbetweeners felt that they needed to exercise their independence and make their own free choices. They began to visit other ethnic restaurants and to experiment with new foods prompting them to reject their 'home' and host food patterns. Ed indicated that upon arrival in the UK, he was not aware of other food until '*one of my friends introduced'* him to other foods. He also indicated that his food consumption has changed *'since then'* when he met his friend and no longer eats both Zimbabwean and UK foods. Fatima, one of the respondents, indicated that she was now eating Caribbean foods instead of Zimbabwean and UK foods.

### 6.2.3.2 Food consumption adoption strategy

The second acculturation strategy chosen by the inbetweeners in this study was food consumption *adoption*. This was not full adoption but the respondents were in transition when in a state of flux when it came to this acculturation strategy. This

strategy was still contested as the respondents felt the need to resist the 'forced' input they received during school activities and also discrimination and negative experiences from the UK community at large. This refers to the process where migrants adopt the food consumption patterns of the host country. In the study of the inbetweeners, it has become evident that the migrants were trying to adopt British food patterns. Some were the foods they had experienced during their early days of settlement in the UK. Some of these food experiences were imposed on them through their education. For Sandra, she noted this when she first attended school. This is because the food culture in most British schools is structured and gives the migrant students no choice of their Zimbabwean meals or other preferred food options. Some of these food experiences of the inbetweeners were also acquired through the communities they lived. Panashe tasted *'Yorkshire pudding'* after his interactions with other people in his Yorkshire community.

#### 6.2.3.3 Food consumption adaptation

The third acculturation strategy chosen by the inbetweeners in this study was food consumption *adaptation*. This refers to the process whereby migrants maintained some food consumption practices of their home country and at the same time adapting to the food consumption practices of the host country and other ethnic communities. The evidence from this study suggests that food adaptation is the most popular acculturation strategy adopted by the inbetweeners. The findings suggest that most inbetweeners have maintained certain Zimbabwean food practices in terms of the use of foods, ingredients and preparation. Chapter 5.2.1 of the findings showed that '*upbringing*' was pivotal towards the inbetweeners food consumption *adaptation* strategy. For Desiree and Martin, they adapted their eating of UK foods after some time of their stay in the UK as their perceptions changed. Panashe indicated his

adaptation to British foods too. He stated how *'sadza nemuriwo* defined his *'upbringing'* Zimbabwe and vowed not to '*change'*. He also pointed out that he had interests in British foods such as the Yorkshire pudding which he had experienced. Some added Zimbabwean ingredients to UK foods as they adapted the cuisines to create their own adapted food patterns. As have been seen, the inbetweeners also adopted additional food consumption practices of other ethnic communities reflecting the breadth of their contacts.

#### 6.2.3.4 Food consumption separation strategy

The last acculturation strategy that was adopted in this study by the inbetweeners was food consumption *separation*. This involved the migrants maintaining their 'home' food consumption practices and not making an attempt to acquire host food consumption practices or those of other ethnic groups. This thesis found in chapter 5.2.2.1 that some pursued a separation strategy by maintaining food activities associated with Zimbabwean food. Some inbetweeners mentioned that they sought these foods in the UK even if it led them to travel long distances in search of them. Den relied on the Zimbabwean community as they help each other as they '*have always helped'* him acquire the Zimbabwean foods. Similarly, to maintain the Zimbabwean food consumption practices, the inbetweeners who decided to separate their food consumption practices had to buy in bulk to maintain these practices.

These findings show that these inbetweeners chose a degree of food consumption separation strategy because they felt it was important to maintain their food culture in some instances. However, these separatists were older inbetweeners, those who had not enjoyed the migration journey to the UK and who felt unstable being in the UK. They tended to cherish more Zimbabwean food consumption patterns associated with

their heritage and separate themselves from other food patterns by maintaining what they are used to from Zimbabwe.

#### 6.2.3.5 The role of individual differences in the food acculturation process

This thesis found that individual differences impacted their acculturation process. Demographic and social factors were found to have influenced the acculturation process of the inbetweeners. This is consistent with the pattern found by other researchers of how individual differences exhibited by consumers can influence the nature and speed of the acculturation process (Penaloza, 1994; Berry & Hou, 2016).

The literature in chapter 3.6 identified some of the characteristics that have been argued to have influenced the entire acculturation process. Four factors in particular emerge as important in the findings of this thesis and they brought differences into the food acculturation process of the inbetweeners: age at which they migrated, length of stay, economic independence, and gender

#### 6.2.3.6 The role of age in the acculturation process

The findings suggest that the age at which migrants move is one of the major factors which influences their food acculturation process. Chapter 3.6 showed that people who migrate at a younger age are more likely to be influenced by their host country than older migrants.

The findings in this thesis show that the inbetweeners, who arrived in the UK below the age of nine had limited previous food experiences in Zimbabwe which meant they easily adopted some of the food patterns they came across in the UK. Fatima was an extreme example of this. She was very young when she left Zimbabwe. Obviously, identifying ‘Zimbabwean food’ only with porridge and the mentioning of nursery showed her limited exposure to the traditional foods in Zimbabwe. Since arriving in the

UK at a very young age she would have greater difficulty in acquiring a sense of a Zimbabwe food culture but was open to other ethnic communities food patterns.

For the older migrants, the findings in section 5.2.1 indicated that their previous experiences in Zimbabwe became the benchmark by which other food experiences were acquired in the UK. This was reflected in not only what they ate but their taste. Any foods which tasted differently were judged based on their Zimbabwean experiences. The older the age at migration the less, it seems, the ability of the inbetweeners to let go of their Zimbabwean food experiences and to embrace other food consumption experiences. But it needs to be emphasised that this did not stop them from having wider multi-cultural food experiences. As we have seen the inbetweeners have also shown unstable eating habits which made them vulnerable to several acculturation agents as they struggled to cope with various food experiences coming from both the host country and Zimbabwe.

#### 6.2.3.7 The influence of the length of stay on the food acculturation process

The findings suggest that age of migration is also related to the length of stay. This findings suggest that the duration of stay of the inbetweeners in the UK affected their choice of strategies. The findings in chapter 5.4.6 indicated that even though some inbetweeners initially disliked UK foods, as time went by, their perception changed, sometimes adapting to these foods as they sought unique food experiences. Elias had stayed in UK for a long time and his Zimbabwean foods were changing as they were *'not who … [he was] … anymore'.* Time away, therefore, distanced him from Zimbabwe and closer to the '*UK now'*.

However, the thesis findings also showed that the longer the respondents stayed in the UK the more likely they were to interact with, experience and experiment foods from other ethnic communities in the UK where they were trying '*new things'* in other ethnic restaurants. While others became comfortable at using social media where they tried what they were exposed to on these platforms.

#### 6.2.3.8 The role of economic independence in the acculturation process

The third factor to be emphasised from this study is that the economic status of migrants could influence the food acculturation process. These findings show that inbetweeners who depended on their parents and lived at home were more economically constrained than those who did not. Chapter 5.5.1 findings showed that even when they ate out, their mothers and fathers decided for them where and what food to eat including eating in ethnic restaurants such as Nando's, and e'Khaya. There are some foods they preferred when they ate out but were frustrated as they could not afford much and hence their parents were found to be dictating what and where they ate.

The findings also provide evidence that higher incomes allowed inbetweeners with the possibility of maintaining Zimbabwean food and also eating other foods in expensive restaurants. The inbetweeners such as those who owned businesses and professionals were more financially stable than others who did not have such. The most extreme example of this was Gloria with her taste for fine dining. As a mother and highly qualified professional with a small company she ate out in ethnic restaurants such as *'Marco Pierre White'* a Michelin star restaurant and *'Rodizio'* - a Brazilian restaurant. The more they became financially independent, the more they ate out in diverse ethnic restaurant were foods were slightly or more expensive.

### 6.2.3.9 The role of gender in the acculturation process

What is of interest here in respect of gender is the specific issue of marriage and daughter relations with their mothers. Findings in chapter 5.4.5 showed that the roles of the female inbetweeners and the mothers were of importance as they considered getting married and raising a family. The Zimbabwean parents were determined to maintain Zimbabwean food culture in the home with the female inbetweeners as the people that would perpetuate this in their families.

While other female inbetweeners might have initially resisted learning these 'cooking skills' they seemed to accept that marriage would make them the custodians of 'Zimbabwean' food consumption practices in the UK. This thesis identified that Zimbabwe culture was more conservative hence female inbetweeners were regarded as the vanguards of any 'Zimbabwean' food culture in families. Thus, in marriage, women were expected to prepare Zimbabwean meals for their families and hence the need to learn how such foods are prepared. Yolanda said that she acquired the skills from her mother because '*I might get married'***.** The findings suggest that as the younger female inbetweeners in the sample were preparing for marriage, it became their preoccupation to learn the Zimbabwean food culture - particularly if they were to marry a Zimbabwean man. They assumed that by learning these food patterns they would have successful marriages - an example Sandra thought she saw from her mother. Awa, a young Zimbabwean female in-betweener said much the same but referred to a more generic 'African food'. The impact of the Zimbabwean food consumption 'training' received by females is also illustrated by Lilly who is now a mother now appreciating the cooking skills which are helping her '*to run my family'.*

## 6.3 Making sense of food experiences and the symbolic meaning of food consumption patterns

This section turns to deal with the second research question regarding how the inbetweeners made use of their food experiences in creating an identity for themselves. Apart from their engagement with varying eating patterns in the host country, the social interactions of the in-betweeners with other ethnic communities led them to construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct their food consumption identities. They then formed, as will be argued below, '*disintegrated identities*' as they symbolically consumed different foods to fit into various groups.

### 6.3.1 Constructing a national identity through food consumption

Chapter 3.9 pointed out that food consumption practices are not frozen in time. The findings in chapters five, therefore, add weight to the arguments that reject food cuisine essentialism by emphasizing the dynamism of food. Zimbabwe was seen by the in-betweeners as a physical space which they had left and might revisit. However, they had to recreate or maintain a national identity in the UK in part through their food consumption practices. The cultures that produce food practices that are thought to be '*authentic'* cannot be fixed. Thus, the food cultures in Zimbabwe were not static themselves to an extent that they would create an 'authentic' Zimbabwean cuisine. However, the inbetweeners symbolically consumed 'Zimbabwean food' to reconstruct an 'imagined' Zimbabwean identity (Anderson, 2006); Arsel and Bean, 2018). These foods were maintained for *nostalgic* purposes in remembrance of a distant and *'imagined homeland*'. While all the in-betweeners recognised variety in UK they assumed that there was a *Zimbabwean* identity associated with *Zimbabwean* foods, but they imagined this in different ways. What the inbetweeners regarded as

‘Zimbabwean food traditions’ were in fact reconstructions and rediscoveries of cultural food identities. There is an additional difficulty in that while for some food memories involved *positive nostalgia*, for others it did not. For some inbetweeners, past eating patterns had sad memories of shortages and suffering in Zimbabwe. Consuming certain foods therefore made it difficult for them to associate them with better things.

The in-betweeners desire for their ‘*imagined’* Zimbabwe was partly reflected in their perceptions of ‘traditional’ foods and ingredients and the ‘invented cooking traditions’. Many respondents showed their desire to reconnect with Zimbabwe by eating sadza which was seen in chapter 2 as a staple food eaten in Zimbabwe – Yolanda said she couldn’t *‘live without sadza'* with others constantly asking their mothers to cook sadza for them. Unwittingly, this focus on sadza and vegetables gives insight into the lack of meat in many these inbetweeners Zimbabwean diets. Ways of cooking using borrowed Afrikaans terms and processes such as *‘braai’* (barbecue) were also used to reproduce their Zimbabwean food patterns thereby establishing a diasporic Zimbabwean *community* identity.

The inbetweeners actual food consumption practices in this study were fluid and disrupted during their migration as they met different people from other ethnic communities. Accessing some of their ingredients too was a difficulty so they reinvented their ‘traditional’ foods and reconfigured them in the UK. *'Sour milk’,* for example, is now being produced and packaged differently in the UK. Initially, they made sour milk in their homes, by mixing the yoghurt and fresh cream they bought in in Asian shops in the UK. Similarly for some of the inbetweeners, ‘Zimbabwe’ was where they had indigenous relationships in which sharing food with other people was

deemed to be important. Food sharing could then be seen as ‘Zimbabwean food tradition’ which the inbetweeners might endeavor to practice same in the UK.

Most important and relevant to this thesis was that in claiming to be true to ‘Zimbabwean food’ they also embraced wider southern African regional food practices. The inbetweeners migrants bought ingredients to use from *'Zimbabwean and South African shops'* to *'cook traditional food'*. This is evidence that these inbetweeners now referred to more generic ingredients like maize meal and boerewors that are originally from South Africa as Zimbabwean. The same applied to commercially produced ingredients like 'Aromat' and 'Iwisa'.

‘Zimbabwe’ might also be imagined in terms of taste and food wholesomeness as if this was specific to a country. Kudzi identified the differences in taste between UK and Zimbabwe foods with the latter being considered ‘*good for the body’*.

### 6.3.2 Food as a representation of an ‘imagined home’

This study found that the inbetweeners had ways of imagining ‘home’? Some thought of ‘home’ as a physical space while others rejected the idea that it is a physical space with physical boundaries. It is possible to ‘overplay’ the floating home and underplay the resilient home, which is stable, bounded and with fixed interpretations (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). However, the findings indicated in chapter 5.4.2 lead to a rejection of the notion of a fixed home. This findings reinforce the argument that ‘home’ for the inbetweeners was neither here nor there. Defining ‘home’, therefore, involved individual perceptions that have multiple layers and arises from complex processes.

There was no agreement in the in-betweener responses that pinned ‘home’ to a physical boundary. Some of the inbetweeners who had migrated as refugees to the UK placed Zimbabwe as an imagined ‘home’ in a physical-geographic space. The UK

was a temporary place for them and in the strongest sense that the *'UK is not home'.* However, when revisiting their imagined home, they also felt lost with a limited sense of belonging.

Others seemed to have two homes. This might be reflected in food as when Kudzi said that the food eaten *'at home here in Britain'* is not the same as the food '*we eat at home in Zimbabwe'*. However, if the respondent had two homes one 'home' was positively recognized while the 'other' was seen in more negative ways – in this instance the one where less healthy foods were consumed.

For others 'home' was a 'place' where they could *' have people around'*. Here 'home' is about family members and the community at large surrounding them. *'Home to me is family'* said one in-betweener. Food was then important to this sense of home. The findings suggest that many inbetweeners perceived 'home' as a place where they consumed 'traditional Zimbabwean' foods in their family groups. This might, therefore, be a diasporic 'home' 'in the UK. Although physically in the UK, this 'home' was a place where family was centre stage and nostalgic Zimbabwean experiences and emotions were displayed, shared, enjoyed, and consumed at a table through food.

In chapter 5.4.2 the findings showed the inbetweeners desire to reconnect with a Zimbabwean 'home' outside of Zimbabwe by eating typical Zimbabwean food. Sadza has become symbolic of Zimbabwean food identity which is described as a representative of the imagined home. Some of the other inbetweeners referred to community cooking practices such as *'braai'* (barbecue) where they established their diasporic community identity at the same acquiring knowledge on Zimbabwean food practices.

### 6.3.3 Food and relationships

The thesis findings in chapter 5.2.2.1 indicated that the inbetweeners used food to manage their relationships. What was of significance was the way they overcame and managed the relationship between themselves and their parents. *Parents* had a significant role in the way the respondents understood their food patterns. The research findings showed that as dependent migrants in their early stages in the UK the in-betweeners could not have had independent food consumption patterns. The respondent's parents tried to maintain Zimbabwean food consumption patterns in the first few years as they settled in the UK in part to instill their values of maintaining the connection with the 'imagined homeland'. Most of the inbetweeners comments reflected this parental role with some mentioning that their parents had so much influence on their eating patterns. The *'parents from Zimbabwe'* liked to eat *'home-cooked'* Zimbabwean food which they had approved to be '*healthy*' food. For some parents, the maintenance of the Zimbabwean food consumption patterns was still of paramount importance to them.

The thesis findings demonstrated that as dependency shifted so the parents' influences diminished with time. Some of the inbetweeners mentioned that their parents who were once a barrier to them from experiencing other foods were now appreciating changing their eating patterns due to their influences. The inbetweeners could use new food consumption patterns to free themselves from the pressures exerted on them by their parents'.

Secondly, chapter 5.2.2.1 showed the relationships built by the inbetweeners as they interacted with the community at large as they consume food. Maintaining a strong relationship with the community was also found to be managed through food

consumption patterns. The in-betweeners maintained their relationships with the Zimbabwean diaspora community by attending insider communal events such as church activities, Zimbabwean weddings, *braai* (barbecues). These practices gave them part of their sense of belonging to a '*diaspora community'.* Food is a good they used to maintain links with their diaspora community (Brown & Paszkiewicz, 2017; Raghuram, 2010). Here too food was important through the use of popular 'Zimbabwean' ingredients traditions associated with Zimbabwean cooking. It was also reflected in the presentation and the way that they ate *'sadza using their hands'* and not cutlery.

The findings also show that food was used to establish 'insider' and 'outsider' positions between them and other ethnic groups (Jafari and Visconti, 2015). However, the inbetweeners experienced tensions as they experimented with new foods to manage their relationships with other communities. These food relationships with some *'outsider'* community members began through conversations which led them to invite each other to meals and where they found similarities in food choices then they would establish relationships. Kenny said that *'when I see someone eat food, I just ask them'* and *'would want to try'* each to learn each other's foods.

This variety and broadening of choice could lead to a weakening of some relationships as others were strengthened. Rebellious food consumption patterns were used by the respondents as they began to exercise their freedom from the food they ate in the home. The inbetweeners did not perceive consuming Zimbabwean food as something to be *'ashamed of …'*, they were just not prepared to be *'like an outsider'.* However, being seen as an insider by others contributed to them adapting to their friends eating habits and developing a different sense of belonging. Fast foods, for example, were

consumed for two purposes. Some respondents said they consumed fast food for the lack of time to prepare. However, they also did not want to be outsiders amongst their peers.

The findings suggest that rebellious food consumption practices might be the first stage of breaking away from (female) parents' control. However, it particularly stretched the relationship between in-betweener daughters and their mothers. Most female respondents who lived independently away from their parents 'homes' had experienced some level of control from their parents. To these respondents, different eating patterns might represent a step away from the Zimbabwean conservative culture practiced by their mothers who assumed that '*they would get married to a Zimbabwean man'* and therefore needed to maintain Zimbabwean food patterns.

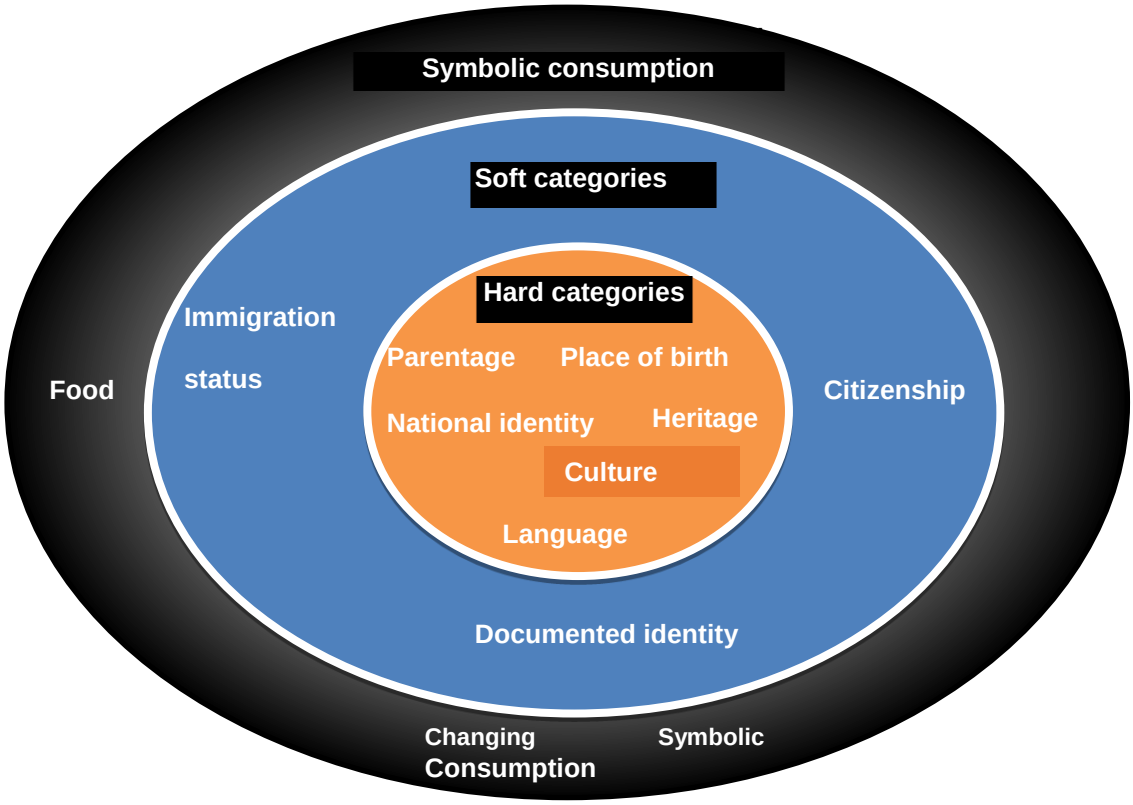
### 6.3.4 Food as a tool for negotiating identity

Consumer culture theory addresses the importance of choices for individuals when it comes to consuming products to construct identities (Arnould and Thompson, 2018). When consumer culture focuses on micro level it tends to stress on the individual's agency, but identities can also be moulded by power. The power of the UK state brought fear among the inbetweeners. They feared that the power of the state lies in the fact that their migration status could be revoked anytime. During the work for this thesis the story emerged of the Windrush generation who lived in the UK for many years but some of whom were either deported or refused to leave to regularise their immigration status (Wardle & Obermuller, 2018).

There was fear amongst the inbetweeners, not just of the UK state but also fear of the Zimbabwe security services operating in the UK which also threatened their stay in both the UK and their return to Zimbabwe (McGregor, 2007). Figure 6.1 shows one

way of thinking about how circumstances can change a 'Zimbabwean inbetweeners' migrant's identity and the ambiguous role of food in this process.

**Figure 6.1 The three layers of Zimbabwe Inbetweener migrant identities**




**Source:** Author (2020)

Figure 6.1 distinguishes between three layers of identity for the Zimbabwean inbetweeners. The core part of the figure shows what the respondents seem to have thought of as *hard* categories at the epicentre of their 'identity'. These are a mix of *formal* and *informal* elements that reflect their parentage, their place of birth, their given language, their heritage, culture, and their original national identity. The elements are to an extent 'imagined' but are crucially thought by the inbetweeners to

be stable and ‘innate’. The inbetweeners imagine their identity construction projects were set by their origins in Zimbabwe.

The middle soft category was formed by the ‘inbetweeners’ new *formal* identities in the UK. These are embodied in official documents such as those involving immigration status, documentation (visa, temporary right to stay), citizenship (passports and permanent citizenship). These might seem hard, but because they can be taken away, they are seen as unstable. The official formal immigration documentations are controlled by the host country government. An ethnic diasporic community may also feel unwelcomed. In the inbetweeners eyes, they may therefore actually be soft. The new formal identities existed ‘on paper’ and because these were *‘on paper’* they could be asked ‘*to go’* back to Zimbabwe mentioned Yolanda one of the respondents. This made them realize their vulnerability to the power of the British state which has its authorities operating under the radar which could deport them.

The outer ring shows the symbolic food consumption layer. This is the least stable. Food patterns here reflect the in-betweeners uncertainty as they negotiate family, community and wider power relations between the migrant background society and the state. Some of the individual migrants might adopt a ‘letting go’ strategy to try to resolve the tension between their old and new identity and the uncertainty it creates. This might make them intentionally discard parts of their earlier ‘hard’ identity as a form of empowerment. This might be reflected in the embracing of fluid food identities. There are other times when individuals might feel that they are coming under pressure. Then food becomes an important marker of their ‘retained’ identity. Thus, the in-betweener who said ‘*they will never take away my heritage’* indicates the continuing sense of separation between themselves and those in the UK they refer to as *‘they’* and the need to hold on to heritage including its food components. In these ways, the

findings showed that the respondents' food patterns varied as they negotiated and constructed and reconstructed their identities in motion in the UK.

An alternative way of thinking about this is in terms of a 'disintegrated identities' approach. There is no necessary synthesis of culture between the inbetweeners and their new environment. Because they have this 'disintegrated identity', the inbetweeners will also have an unstable food consumption pattern. The nostalgic food patterns looking back to an 'imagined' Zimbabwe, their diasporic community, the existing UK food patterns, the role of other ethnic communities' food patterns and their own desire to explore new foods all contribute to pulling their food identities in different directions.

These disintegrated identities are also reflected in symbolic food consumption that involved two types of friends. Zimbabwean friends are 'insider friends' with which the inbetweeners, through their banal markers of shared food activities, kept connected with their 'imagined homeland' and retained a stronger sense of their ethnic identity. Other friends were 'outsiders' with whom they might share different eating patterns.

These 'disintegrated identities' are therefore not about being one thing or the other but being different things depending on circumstances. They are part of the differing journeys that migrants make, and they are never final nor settled. The research here, therefore, agrees with Hall (2014)'s argument that understanding migrant cultures is about as much about analysing *routes* as *roots* (Sarwal, 2017).

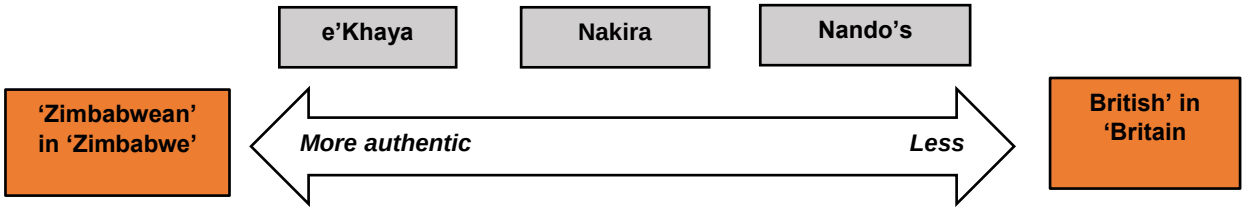
### 6.5 The Ethnic Restaurants and the Illusions of Authenticity

The earlier discussion showed that authenticity is an elusive concept. The dynamism and the commodification of ethnicity have been brought about by ethnic entrepreneurs. These ethnic entrepreneurs are responsible for marketing commodities in which

symbols and signs are consumed to perform and reveal ethnicity. These ethnic entrepreneurs develop business enterprises that are easily accessible to the public at large and the narrower ethnic group. This creates tensions. The more the niche they are, the narrower the customer base, the less the niche - the weaker the ethnic attraction. This research study showed that e'Khaya, Nakira and Nando's manage this problem in different ways.

This thesis found that authenticity lies on a continuum. This thesis, therefore, proposes in figure 6.2 an authenticity continuum as a way of making sense of the findings outlined in chapter six.

**Figure 6.2 Authenticity Continuum**




**Source:** Developed by the author (2020)

At each end of the continuum are two imagined forms – that of being 'Zimbabwean' in 'Zimbabwe' and 'British' in 'Britain'. Both are deemed the most authentic because they exist in geographic space. But they are still based around imagined communities characterized by imagined forms of banal food consumption practices.

This thesis showed in chapter two the difficulties of having 'authentic' Zimbabwean restaurants. In the literature, in chapter 3.9 this thesis discussed and rejected an 'authentic' symbolic representation of a foreign culture. Rather, researchers have

turned to explore fantasized images including those presented in the marketing materials to portray authenticity.

Chapter two showed the extent to which Zimbabwe is an imagined community with many differences in cultures, races and even tribes. All these differences are accompanied with different food patterns illustrating the diversities of foods that encroach into each other's territory at times making them dynamic. In addition, the chapter also showed the rise of some commercial foods which were introduced during and after colonization and have made their way into Zimbabwe cuisines and are now referred to as being Zimbabwean foods.

Moving beyond the continuum to the right are restaurants with no attraction in terms of an '*imagined*' Zimbabwean identity. These might be characterized as 'British'. But what is British? Again, chapter two showed that the consumer culture in Britain is not static and is ever-changing at a faster pace than in Zimbabwe. Some of the contributing factors are the growth of migrant societies and technological advances. This too is a representation of dynamism, differentiation and diversity.

e'Khaya presented themselves as 'more authentic', whilst Nakira seemed more 'hybrid' as they begin to mix cultures which they claim to be African and finally Nando's is least authentic due to the nature of their international operations which are controlled centrally. These restaurants 'authenticity' was impacted by among other factors their physical location, the ingredients they used in their cuisines, their cooking style, the staff they employed and their themed ambience. Their location showed the type of customers they intended to attract, the sourcing of the ingredients and cooking was even more important as these contributed to food cuisine being authentic. Staff to an extent assisted in the service delivery and in some respect their knowledge of serving,

cooking and food presentation was important in the 'authentic' food experience. Lastly, the décor and ambience were important too as they showed the symbols these restaurants believed were associated with Zimbabwe. The décor was meant there to enhance the experience and symbolically transport the people to an '*imagined Zimbabwe'*.

The maintenance of these imagined authenticities, therefore, involved the ethnic restaurants balancing several elements. Table 6.4 identifies these as purity, concreteness, hybridity, and abstraction.

**Table 6.4 Dimensions of the illusion of authenticity**

| | |
|---|---|
| Pure | Hybridity |
| Concreteness | Abstraction |

**Source:** Developed by the author (2020)

*Pure* ethnic restaurants were those that aspire to appear authentic in the way they symbolically presented themselves to their migrants. These restaurants might even go as far as importing ingredients and other symbols that represent Zimbabwe for them to appear to be pure appearance. A pure ethnic restaurant is one that offers service using Zimbabwean staff who have the knowledge of how the foods are cooked and served among other things. Their décor is one that attempts to use the symbols associated with Zimbabwe. For example, the mural where they display the images of Zimbabwean musicians who may have visited the restaurant and the Zimbabwe map among other symbols. Language is also another facet they use to justify their purity. Some use street food names popular in Zimbabwe to acknowledge their understanding of the constantly changing Zimbabwean food practices.

*Concrete ethnic restaurants* appear authentic and they involve adopting some if not all the practices, the cuisines and décor. Where they lacked the ingredients or an understanding of processes, they made up substitutes that tasted and appeared to be like they were from Zimbabwe. Like pure authentic ethnic restaurant, the concrete ethnic restaurant also makes use of the Shona terms to identify ‘Zimbabwean’ cuisines on the menu to justify and support their concreteness.

*Hybridity* involved the mixing of other food traditions, albeit maintaining their imaginary Zimbabwean appeal as the base. There was an element of abstraction indicating the future trajectory of the ethnic restaurant's appeal. This could be two different cultural cuisines symbolically represented by these food practices to attract their ‘imagined communities’.

*Abstract* ethic restaurants involved the most illusions of authenticity. The restaurant is neither here nor there. Instead of using clear and distinct images associated with a particular ethnic group, the themed restaurant uses the most abstract symbols. The research found that symbolic representations were not definitive as the restaurant would include symbols not associated with anyone cultural cuisine but an array of them. For example, the use of clay water jars which can be found not in one region but in many countries.

### 6.5.1 The inbetweeners view of eating out in these restaurants

As a result, ‘disintegrated identities’ were performed in the ethnic restaurant ‘consumptionscape’. This space provided part of the dynamism in the inbetweeners' food-related identities outside the home. In this public consumption space individuals interacted with different groups and the restaurant atmosphere. Besides 'in-group' interactions in the restaurant, there were also *'out-group'* interactions.

The findings in this research suggest that these ethnic restaurants were places where tensions could exist but identity negotiations are carried out. Three multi-layered tensions were identified for the inbetweeners: these were tensions with society at large, tensions with friends and tensions with family. In each of these types' tensions, the inbetweeners were pulled in different directions. The paradox of identity conflicts is that people want to make free choices, but they also want to get along with everybody. The restaurant consumption space was where they negotiated some of these tensions maintaining some fluidity in their identity. In this section, the first two tensions will be discussed.

**Society**

The findings suggest that although the 'inbetweeners' negotiated and constructed their Zimbabwean identity at e'Khaya, they mentioned that they seldom visited the restaurant. They seemed to be reluctant to construct this identity in e'Khaya with Elias indicating that he '*struggled*' to find food to eat. This struggle with finding the food to eat was to do with them acknowledging that they are certain of their Zimbabwean identity and wanted to 'experience' other foods. Travis acknowledged that his Zimbabwean identity was not only formed through the consumption of Zimbabwean foods, but through social interactions with other patrons. The narrow Zimbabwean menu at e'Khaya meant that it drew people mainly from Zimbabwe hence Travis indicated this experience. Kudzi found that he constructed his Zimbabwean identity at e'Khaya due to décor that was displayed in the restaurant which triggered his memories.

The 'in-betweeners' sense of an 'African' identity was also constructed and negotiated in Nakira restaurant. These identity tensions were tasted through the types of foods

that were consumed in this ethnic restaurant. Some of the foods served in this restaurant were for people that were interested in African foods.

The findings show that Southern Africa was a regional identity that was also partially constructed in Nakira. However, for some inbetweeners, the generic abstraction at Nakira was confusing. Awa showed her confusion when she explained about their food experience at Nakira. She stated the obvious about when she *'went to … Nakira'*, and *'It's a South African restaurant'*. Here she placed the restaurant as a South African because of the food she ate, although similar foods are eaten in Zimbabwe. The confusion arose when Awa, from Ndebele tribe, explained that *'there was sadza'* using the Zimbabwean Shona language to place this restaurant. In the same vein, this confusion continued when she spoke of *'South African music'* playing in the restaurant reminding her of her Zimbabwe. The evidence she missed here was how all the elements she identified were used to formulate an 'African' story by Nakira. This shows that the restaurant acknowledged its mixed traditions and African identity. The identity raised here for the respondents leaned towards 'Africanness' as an overarching idea although as the inbetweeners consumed foods they could then pursue other identities among them their Zimbabwean identity thus if they so wished.

Similarly, Nando's offered an experience of Southern African and South African identity. Nando's skillfully mixed these two identities to accommodate the origins of the restaurant and that of their major ingredients. This enabled the inbetweeners the opportunities to negotiate between these two identities with the Southern African identity overpowering the South African identity. Foods were eaten in a place where even the typography used to write the menu was about Nando's history and links with Johannesburg. Besides the typography, the South African Zulu names on the bottles

were used by these respondents to establish this South African identity. The Southern African identity manifested when they consumed the peri-peri source which is the main ingredient with roots in Mozambique. The inbetweeners pointed this when they talked about having similar foods in Zimbabwe although the food tasted different. Several respondents had fond memories of their time in Zimbabwe when they fondly pointed out that *'Nando's is a special place'* and *'we used to eat at Nando's in Zimbabwe,'* and *'we don't have problems with their food'.* Therefore, the reduction of tension indicated shared nostalgic moments and the desire to reconnect with their 'imagined' Zimbabwean identity; albeit acknowledging that this identity had changed as represented by the foods which they noticed were also now different from the Nando's back in Zimbabwe. Nando's symbolic representation indicated their in-between identity where they were somewhere but neither here nor there.

**Friends**

Two types of friends brought different tensions which had to be addressed by the inbetweeners. Firstly, none of the inbetweeners showed the desire to take their non-Zimbabwean friends to e'Khaya. Rather, some of the respondents used this restaurant to connect with their Zimbabwean diaspora community.

With Zimbabwean friends, identity at e'Khaya was fostered through nostalgic consumption. The narrow menu caused some of these tensions as there was not much variety to cater for other non-Zimbabwean friends and this led to tensions. The tensions with friends here were reduced if their network of friends included other 'African' diaspora and other friends seeking to experience exotic 'African' cuisines. Because the inbetweeners had their own tensions to deal with they seldom visited this restaurant. So, identifying with their friends in this restaurant was non-existent. The

more authentic the restaurant was the more they chose *not* to associate with it which was the case with e'Khaya.

Nakira was a restaurant where they met other friends from other African countries where they shared each other's food practices. Not only was it a place where they ate with their other 'African' friends from other countries, they also used Nakira as a place for exploring novelty foods with their Zimbabwean friends who were also intending on trying other foods. Generally, this was a place where they ate and constructed their 'African' ethnic and group identities.

The findings also suggest that the inbetweeners experienced fewer tensions with their friends in Nando's than any other restaurant. Nando's represented a compromise for their old Zimbabwe and new UK friends because of their adapted menu. The element of having both Afrocentric décor and origins and Eurocentric values of Portuguese origins and the overall ambience enforced the elimination of these tensions. Some of the contributing factors were that the food at Nando's had less tradition in the way the food is cooked (no scratch cooking) being standardized and mass-produced. Another contributing factor that drew the friends was the restaurant's abstract symbolic representation of Africa. Nando's inclusion of images of groups of people from diverse backgrounds enhanced these symbolic representations which appear positively to the inbetweeners and their friends.

**Family**

In addition to friends, this research also found tensions between the inbetweeners and their families. The family tensions were identified were complex. It was found that the respondents valued their families, but food issues increased the levels of identity

tension. Eating out in the 'wrong' place increased these tensions. Eating out in the 'right' place eases tensions.

This research study shows that within the continuum, the more 'authentic' the restaurant, the more the identity tensions grew between the inbetweeners and their parents. Parents preferred eating out at e'Khaya as a way of maintaining the public Zimbabwean eating patterns in the families. This tension was strongly experienced by some of the inbetweeners who left Zimbabwe at a younger age. Their lack of Zimbabwean food experiences made e'Khaya restaurant feel ‘foreign’ to them raising the levels of tensions with their parents. Eating at e'Khaya was resisted by some of the inbetweeners and their siblings (brothers and sisters). Eating away from e'Khaya was about having the opportunity to explore and to make independent food choices that were current. e’Khaya was the restaurant that they resisted but attended to when they were seeking to present their ethnic identity in public which was not always the case.

Some respondents reminisced in the findings about the time they went to eat at e'Khaya, and this was not a good experience as they *' struggled'* with eating the food. This showed his eating habits were changing and that maintaining the seemingly ‘static’ ancestral food patterns presented at e’Khaya was not possible.

Family tensions began to ease in eating at Nakira because this involved maintaining the Zimbabwean food patterns and being open to other African cuisines which were new to the inbetweeners. A few parents who had been to Nakira found this hybrid restaurant accommodating their eating patterns but only a few inbetweeners had been to Nakira with their parents and one of the contributing factors according to the chapter six would have been its location which was difficult to access when eating out as a

family. However, the parents were interested in understanding that their children maintained an African identity which was propagated at Nakira through the food they served.

Nando's is at the limits at the far end of the continuum but still within the 'authentic' continuum. The findings suggest that Nando's restaurant food experiences accommodated everyone in families. There were fewer compromises and tensions. Fatima, for example, acknowledged the family and eating at Nando's created a more unified identity. It was not about freedom. With parents it was also about negotiating a collective 'we' identity as proof that they did '*not have problems'* and they *'like it there'*. Thus, the more abstract the restaurant, the less the identity tensions so long as some residual appearance remains. Nando's was less authentic but appealed to the inbetweeners as a social and eating space.

### 6.5.2 To what extent were the inbetweeners knowing consumers of imagined authenticity

Central to the debates here are ideas as to whether consumption is an act based on ignorance, deception or knowing complicity. Each of these ideas is important when it comes to food and especially the consumption of allegedly authentic foodstuffs from another culture many thousands of miles away which few consumers are likely to experience and which, if they do visit as tourists, they are only likely to get a privileged glimpse. The restaurants created an illusion through 'staged authenticity', but this does not mean people are deceived (MacCannell, 1973).

There are various ways that can be used to understand the dining experience in the three identified restaurants. A first approach argues that consumers are interested in

the content of the food and what the advertising promises but they are duped into accepting something which is not what it is claimed by powerful companies and advertisers. Smaller businesses like Nakira and e'Khaya have to play along with these deceptions because they cannot themselves have a great deal of influence on market trends. A related approach focuses on ignorance in the sense of not knowing. This not knowing can take the form of not being able to distinguish or also a rather more positive not caring about authenticity.

This rather more positive version of this ignorance approach argues that consumers are less interested in authenticity than the pleasure of eating in a nice environment. Instead, customers seek the thrill of experimenting and experiencing other foods and those allegedly from 'southern Africa' are as much a possible part of this as burgers, pizza, nachos or paella.

There is another possibility. Perhaps when inbetweeners go out to eat they are to a degree willingly suspending their disbelief. In this view eating out in e'Khaya, Nakira and Nando's is a kind of theatrical experience or perhaps even a magic show. This argument seems to be of interest too because those inbetweeners in Nakira and e'Khaya, are not in the best position to judge authenticity. Diaspora customers may not be too concerned about compromises or concessions that are made to consumption in Britain and this part of the West Midlands in particular.

e'Khaya, Nakira and Nando's restaurants have been able to create an atmosphere and service under the 'authenticity' tag less for their customers to accept it as genuine but for them to willingly suspend their disbelief. Their foods then become like art on the plate and the waiters are more like actors and the ambience of the place their

stage theatre. Strategies are used to evoke southern African based caricatures of heat, peri-peri, water jars, game meat, silhouettes and Shona language and the fake astro-turf. The language on the menu is the script that helps customers choose to believe in Nando's. Ingredients are purposely highlighted to convey a believable message that makes their customer accept their experiences as 'authentic'. The astro-turf among others at e'Khaya are used to trigger the nostalgic family moments spent in backyards in Zimbabwe unlike the UK where they are constantly working with no time for family meals.

It seems that it is the positive 'African' ambience, designed and orchestrated by these restaurants to recreate an environment, that helps to transport these patrons for a time to enjoy the illusion that they are in a more comfortable in an imagined 'Southern Africa'-Zimbabwe'. People may not care if the food is not authentic as long as the environment resonates with them positively.

What Nando's does on a large scale, Nakira and e'Khaya do on a lesser one. '*Come and feast on our traditional African cuisine and enjoy the classical and vibrant environment'* says Nakira to those in Birmingham. '*e'Khaya, [is] home from home*.' Yet it seems unlikely that any knowing customer in a restaurant in the middle of Birmingham or in an astro-turfed garden in Dudley would believe that they are in Southern Africa or eating food in the same way they would 'at home'. The theatre in these restaurants centres on offering their customers something different - an illusion - including not least nostalgia - which the customers may willingly share.

### 6.6 Chapter Summary

The thesis posed three questions, restated at the start of this chapter. These were designed to explore the complex relationship between food consumption patterns and

identity constructs of the ‘inbetweeners’. This finding discussed here show that the food experiences of the Zimbabwean inbetweeners were dynamic and multidimensional. This multidimensionality is impacted by individual differences consumer acculturation agents among them other ethnic communities who introduced the respondents to other ethnic foods. This resulted in the inbetweeners moving between positions selecting their consumer acculturation strategies- food consumption *rejection*, food consumption *adaptation* and food consumption *separation.*

The findings also found that the Zimbabwean inbetweeners symbolically consumed food to construct among other identities an *imagined* Zimbabwean identity. Although they used what they thought to be Zimbabwean traditional food practices, these were reconstructions and rediscoveries which also included South African foods and improvisations where they lacked ingredients. This suggest that these foods were imaginary traditional dishes which had evolved hence these were not ‘*authentic’* Zimbabwean food practices. The findings also pointed to how the inbetweeners sense of *‘home’* was involved with different food practices - ‘*home*’ was floating, partly carried in food but was neither here nor there.

These findings allowed an exploration of how these food consumption practices enabled the inbetweeners to construct *disintegrated identities*. These disintegrated identities were formed of *hard* and *soft* categories which made their identity fluid. The thesis found that these disintegrated identities manifested in symbolic food patterns too.

This chapter has developed another way of understanding authenticity by suggesting the idea of ‘authenticity’ as a continuum. At both ends, it was geographically defined

by imagined opposite authenticities. Within it the maintenance of these imagined authenticities therefore involved the ethnic restaurants balancing the four dimensions - purity, hybridity, concreteness and abstraction.

The more authentic the restaurant attempted to market itself as, the less appealing it was to the inbetweeners. The respondents were more easily drawn to less authentic restaurants were they experienced fewer tensions and allowed for a less distinct inbetweener identity. The discussion finally led to the question being posed of whether, as these inbetweeners eat out in these restaurants, they indicate a willingness to suspend disbelief and accept the various forms of illusions that they experienced during their meal experiences.

# CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the key conclusions and recommendations from the study. The chapter begins with a summary of the study. Second, the major findings from the study are summarised and presented. Third, knowledge confirmations, extensions and new elements are presented. Fourth, the contributions to methodology, theory, and practice are presented in relation to the findings. Fifth, the limitations of the study are discussed. The sixth part presents the future research directions on food and identity research, based on the limitations identified, the final section provides the conclusion to the chapter and the thesis.

## 7.2 Summary of the thesis

Chapter 1 provided the background of the study by indicating the research context, an overview of the thesis, the research questions, the overall research methodology, and a clarification of the researcher's position.

Chapter 2 traced the history and background of the inbetweeners from Zimbabwe to the UK to provide the reader with a broad understanding of their migration journey. It provided a detailed historical overview of Zimbabwe and other issues that are pertinent to this study. These issues included the origin of Zimbabwe, the contested identities in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, pre-Independence identities, post-independence identities, contested consumption in Zimbabwe, migration to the United Kingdom, the UK as a destination, food consumption, eating out, and ‘consumption scapes’ in Britain.

Chapter 3, the literature review, provided a selected discussion of the concept of identity construction and the use of food as an identity marker. The discussion was necessarily selective because, as Warde (2014) has argued, food can be discussed

from many angles. The purpose was, therefore, to interrogate the identity literature and food consumption practices literature to establish the relevant research that had already been done in the broad area of this thesis. Issues discussed included national culture, national identity, migration theory, consumer culture theory, consumer acculturation, diaspora theory, memory and nostalgia, and food consumption.

Chapter 4, described the research methodology and the various techniques that were used in designing this study and the collecting of the appropriate data to form the findings. The chapter briefly discussed the research philosophy, approach, and strategy, spending the most time on types of data and justification, trustworthiness and credibility, the interview process, the data analysis and ethical considerations in the study.

Chapter 5, presented the findings from the interviews. These findings related to the experiences of the Zimbabwean inbetweeners including the role of parents and immediate family in the acquisition of food consumption practice, the role of other agents such as schools, friends, ethnic communities, the various constraints to the acquisition of food consumption practices, sources of information for food consumption and cooking practices, symbolic consumption, gender and food consumption practices and eating out among others.

Chapter 6 presented the analytical discussion of the findings from the interviews. The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the findings and situate them within the extant consumer culture literature and theory particularly relevant to the marketing domain. The issues focused on the multidimensionality of context in the food experiences of the inbetweeners, the agents of the food acculturation process of the inbetweeners, strategies of food acculturation, the symbolic consumption of food, constructing

national identity through food consumption, Zimbabwe as an ‘imagined homeland’, developing relationships through food consumption, migrant identity and negotiating national identity through food, and finally ethnic restaurants and the illusions of authenticity.

Finally, this chapter, (chapter 7), concludes the study by highlighting the major findings from the study, the key contributions, the implications of the study, the limitations and future research directions.

### 7.3 Summary of key research findings

The summary of the findings as it relates to the three research questions is presented below. These questions were:

(i) *What are the types of food consumption practices the inbetweeners experience?*

(ii) *How do the inbetweeners make sense of their food consumption experiences?*

(iii) *How do ethnic restaurants impact the sense of identity of the inbetweeners?*

This study contributes to the literature in consumer culture theory by exploring the role of food in identity construction as it was exhibited during the time of the data collection for this study (2016-2019) by a group of Zimbabwean migrants in the UK known here as the *inbetweeners*. The thesis set out to investigate how the Zimbabwean inbetweeners constructed their identity in the UK through their food consumption practices. This involved four main steps.

First, responding to the challenge of key authors like Jafari (2009) and McSweeney (2002) who argue that there are misconceptions and a clichéd representation of culture in business and management studies as well as the argument that there was a need for more research focused on context (Luedicke, 2015). To overcome the argument that context is central, a detailed framework for the study was created drawing on a wide range of historical and contemporary discussions (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Luedicke, 2015).

Second, understanding to analyse the in-betweeners identity construction it was important to interview the migrants themselves to gain their first-hand experiences of how they saw their adaptations to food and the influence of the various acculturation agents that they experienced in their quest to construct a (national) identity for themselves. In the journey of the Zimbabwean migrants, a variety of food consumption practices were experienced through interaction with other ethnic communities in the UK in addition to their already acquired food practices from Zimbabwe.

Thirdly, supplementing the interviews with the use of contextual information of three ethnic restaurants; Nando's, Nakira and e'Khaya in the UK. Issues of décor and physical environment, symbolic presentation of food, consumer interaction and commercial strategies were explored to see how commercial imagery of national identity and food was created.

Fourthly, recognising that the findings made in this thesis are experiences of the Zimbabwean inbetweeners and are not necessarily a manifestation of the generic migrant experiences. This is due to the uniqueness of the characteristics of the group. Also, the fact that this is a qualitative research where the results were not expected to be generalised to the wider migrant population as in quantitive research. The information sources during this research process were context specific.

## 7.4 Knowledge confirmation, extension and discovery of new thinking

### 7.4.1 Confirmation of what is already known

First, this thesis supports the arguments that migrants' food consumption experiences and outcomes are context-driven (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Wamwara-Mbugua et al., 2008; Dey et al., 2019). There are three different contexts regarding food consumption practices and identity construction. First, the findings suggest that the family background could have an influence on the individual as to what food experience and practices are acquired. Secondly, the national context could also provide meaningful cultural input into the food consumption experiences acquired. Finally, the multicultural (international) context which involves a host of cultures and food practices of various ethnic minorities could have an immense impact on the nature of food consumption experience acquired.

Second, the findings support research that accepts the view that consumer acculturation was a complex process (Reilly and Wallendorf, 1983; Wamwara-Mbugua et al., 2008; Dey et al., 2019). The results from this thesis support the view that the inbetweeners experienced food consumption practices which were non-linear and which reflected a variety of interactions with various acculturation agents including family, friends, the school, ethnic communities and the British culture at large. The thesis also confirms the role of demographic and social differences that exist among migrants. These affect the variety of experiences they encounter which are unique and diverse. The interviews identified that gender, financial independence, length of time spent in the UK and the age of the migrant at the point of migration as all having influences on the acculturation process and the entire food consumption experience gained. This usually happened because of the interaction which takes place between the migrants and the acculturation agents. Acculturation agents become the driving

force as to what kind of food consumption experience an individual obtains. For instance, the Taiwanese in the UK have been influenced by these agents to the extent of changing their food consumption practices due to their encounter with diversity (Capellin and Yen, 2013). Similar observations could be made in the case of the Punjabis in Canada (Chapman and Beagan, 2013). The interviews carried out in this thesis found that due to these many social factors, the inbetweeners, therefore, developed food experiences which were *dynamic* and *multidimensional* with varying degrees of preferences for both 'Zimbabwean', 'British' and other ethnic communities food practices.

Third, this thesis confirms some important elements in the current food consumption and identity literature. These findings confirmed that an essential insight of consumer culture theory; namely that people consume products they find on the marketplace to construct their identities (Askegaard et al., 2005; Featherstone, 2007; Arnould and Thompson, 2018). In this case, the inbetweeners were observed constructing, reconstructing and deconstructing their identity in several different ways. Individuals used food choices to negotiate their identity so food became a sophisticated tool in the identity formation process. The findings support those researchers who believe that food identity construction is necessarily fluid and dynamic. The findings show that food consumption practices of the inbetweeners were used as fluid identity markers. Many researchers have argued that food does have relevance in identity construction (Polese et al., 2018; Pechurina, 2018; 2020). The inbetweeners studied here too did see some relationship between their identity and their eating and cooking practices. Food among the inbetweeners was instrumental in building lasting relationships particularly in the family, friends and the community at large.

Fourth, this study confirms the argument that national cuisines are not static as argued by food identity essentialists (Alfonso, 2012; Seliverstova, 2017; Pechurina, 2020). The thesis showed that these invented traditions are dynamic and that they produce fluid and dynamic banal identities (Billig, 2017; Fox & Ginderachter, 2018). 'Zimbabwean' foods emanated from colonial consumption patterns, migration and tribal backgrounds which were put together to *invent traditions* used to construct the *imagined communities* and forms of a Zimbabwean banal identity. Outside of Zimbabwe these were then mainly developed in the reconstructions of a Zimbabwean cuisine derived from a past time in Zimbabwe. Even though the inbetweeners migrated to Britain at a tender age, they hoped to keep their part of their national identity through their food practices. Zimbabwean food practices were expressed through *nostalgia* and *memory* to connect with an 'imagined Zimbabwe'.

Fifth, the thesis supports the idea that the notion of 'home' is especially problematic for migrants. The inbetweeners used food consumption practices to construct 'home'. This resonated with studies on Polish migrants in the UK (Rabikowska 2010), Russian migrants in the UK (Pechurina, 2020) and Italians in North and South America (Zanoni, 2018). Home is a subjective and floating concept and can be interpreted to mean several things. It may refer to the native ''homeland'' such as Zimbabwe in this study or an acquired or created 'home' in a diaspora which is adapted to suit a home. Thus, some of the respondents in this study now accept the UK as their home. Some may refer to it as a second home which means Zimbabwe remains their first home. However, depending on the age before their migration and the number of years spent in the UK, the UK could become a permanent home. On the other hand, for some 'home' was also where the family was sharing foods with other family members whether in the UK or Zimbabwe or wherever they were gathered together. The idea of

‘imagined homeland’ encouraged the inbetweeners to continue to eat specific ‘Zimbabwean’ foods such as ‘sadza’ and try to use traditional Zimbabwean ingredients in their cooking practices. In cases where Zimbabwean ingredients were difficult to obtain, the inbetweeners adopted South(ern) African food practices.

Sixth, this thesis confirms that food patterns are used to identify insiders and outsiders (Beagan & D'Sylva, 2011; D’Sylva and Beagan, 2011; Ichijo and Ranta, 2016). The inbetweeners used their food patterns to negotiate their ‘disintegrated identities’, among the ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ in the various ethnic groups in the UK. This was shown in the way they identified with their Zimbabwean and other African, Caribbean and white friends who were not only British but from other European countries.

Seventh, the thesis confirms the fact that individuals use food consumption patterns to manage the consequent relationships (Mintz and DuBois, 2002; Wilk, 2010; Jarosz, 2017). Food consumption practices help individuals to establish and maintain relationships with families and the community at large (D’Sylva and Beagan, 2011; Ma, 2015; Dey et al., 2019). The family was a centre where Zimbabwean food practices were maintained. National identity creation through food seems to have started at ‘home’ where parents tried to provide ‘Zimbabwean’ foods and encouraged their daughters to learn how to cook and use Zimbabwean ingredients. Zimbabwean parents would want to instil Zimbabwean cooking practices in their children particularly their daughters who are likely to marry Zimbabwean husbands. Parents always insisted that Zimbabwean foods are cooked at home by the female inbetweeners.

Finally, this thesis confirms the finding which suggests that migrants do not always seek authenticity, but wider experiences (Liu et al., 2015). Thus, migrants expect to explore various food consumption practices in their host country. For instance, the Zimbabwean inbetweeners wilfully ignored the fact that their experiences at e’Khaya,

Nakira and Nando's were unauthentic. They accepted the illusion knowing that this was a staged authenticity.

### 7.4.2 Extending what is already known

This thesis extends the discussion of food and identity construction empirically to a new black African group in the UK. For several decades now, studies of this nature have focused on the diaspora Caribbean populations (Kaufmann & Harris, 2015; Chessum, 2017; Hall, 2017). These are now outnumbered by the African diasporas. Zimbabwean migrants, in particular, are one of the black ethnic minorities in the UK that has not received wide study. This current study has tried to fill part of this gap through its analysis of the food consumption and cultural practices as identity markers for the Zimbabwean inbetweeners. The findings, therefore, offer insights into a niche black African migrant group which is under-researched in the United Kingdom.

Second, the literature shows that consumer acculturation agents are important to migrants as they learn new skills in a new multicultural country (Kizgin et al., 2017; 2019; Dey et al., 2019). The study has shown another way of understanding this by classifying consumer acculturation agents into - *formal, semi-formal* and *informal*. Whilst the formal acculturation agents focused on UK food consumption, the semi-formal agents focused on the UK and other ethnic foods which gave the inbetweeners new experiences. However, the informal agents were there to perpetuate Zimbabwean foods through family and friends with hands-on experiences.

Third, thesis has emphasised on the role of social media as an acculturation agent (Kizgin et al., 2017). Not much is known about social media as a consumer acculturation agent in the area of migrant food consumption. However, the findings in this thesis identified that social media was a significant consumer acculturation agent

in food consumption practices for migrants. The impact of this is that social media was becoming an important and new game-changer in the consumer acculturation research field where technological agents were not elaborated and discussed in depth.

Fourth, this thesis shows another way of understanding of the dynamism of the consumer acculturation process by suggesting the dynamic positions chosen by migrants (Oswald, 1999; Luedicke,2011). It has attempted to show how the inbetweeners moved between positions. They did not accept *food consumption adoption* (assimilation), instead, they experienced *fooda consumption rejection*, *food consumption adaptation* and *food consumption separation*. In fact, they moved between these outcomes as they experienced new food practices in the UK.

Finally, consumption in ethnic restaurants for the inbetweeners enriched their food consumption experiences through interactions and other engagements such as group eating. This extends the knowledge of the social and cultural dimension of identity construction through food. Identity construction can be a *social* project as well as an *individual* one.

### 7.4.3 Discovery of new thinking

This study has attempted to add several aspects of new thinking to the study of food consumption practices and identity construction. While various studies on migrant identities have found that consumers use products to construct multiple identities (Askegaard et al., 2005; Ustuner and Holt, 2007; Arnould and Thompson, 2018) this study attempted to offer new insights to the theory of migrants' identities by suggesting a *Three Layers model*. Thus, in an attempt to create an identity for themselves in Britain, the inbetweeners were also found to be constantly constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing their food consumption identities to maintain some

balance with the other food practices that they came into contact with. This led them to form what has been referred to in this thesis as ‘disintegrated identities’ which were neither Zimbabwean nor British. These ‘*disintegrated identities’* involved both an ‘imagined Zimbabwe’ and ‘imagined UK’. These identities were found to constitute what this research referred to as *hard* and *soft* categories which contribute differently to their dynamic and fluid identities when food is consumed. While hard categories were considered to be their core identity, soft categories are more highly fluid. Individuals approach identity with the sole aim of constructing a specific identity in a *‘hard’* sense. However, there are compromises on the journey of identity construction that lead to the creation of ‘*soft’* identity. Food being an important tool for identity creation, is used for acculturation, individual identity creation as well as group identity construction. Identity construction through food works best in an environment of cultural certainty. However, as in the case of the inbetweeners, the multi-cultural environment in the UK presents them with various challenges which led to the formation of disintegrated identities in a mix of both British and Zimbabwean food practices. By so doing, both hard and soft identities are created to foster national identity.

Secondly, authenticity has been identified and discussed in the literature but not in the same way as in this study (Beer, 2013). With this in mind, ethnic restaurants were instrumental in perpetuating the food consumption practices of the inbetweeners. The findings of this study suggest that these restaurants attempt to provide an ‘authentic’ ‘home’ alternative in a host country were not all attractive to the respondents. Nando's, Nakira and e'Khaya tried in different ways to portray this ‘authenticity’ by using natural ingredients, cooking methods, staff training, the symbolic presentation of food, décor

and physical space exhibiting some natural settings they represent both something different to non-diaspora customers and an ‘imagined homeland’ of the inbetweeners.

However, it has been shown throughout this thesis that for both the inbetweeners and the restaurateurs, as hard as they tried to find it, ‘authenticity’ is elusive and evasive. This made it difficult for the inbetweeners to experience a ‘true’ and indigenous Southern African - Zimbabwean food culture. Authenticity was analysed on a continuum with Nando's, Nakira and e'Khaya seen to be exhibiting varying degrees of ‘authenticity’. While e'Khaya was seen to be more authentic, Nando’s was less authentic with Nakira lying in the middle. The ‘authenticity’ presented by each of the three restaurants was a fantasized imaginary presentation which was staged. To create these images of ‘authenticity’, the restaurants used strategies such as *purity, concreteness, hybridity,* and *abstraction* in their presentation. The study has deconstructed and analysed authenticity as a continuum on which positions keep shifting.

Thirdly and finally, the thesis shows that food experiences also brought tensions in families, friends and society at large. Potentially, tensions can emerge among families, groups and friends because of the differences that occur in food consumption patterns. However, an ethnic restaurant such as Nando’s is able to resolve these tensions through its international marketing focus which seems to embrace all cultures, taste and recipes. Nando’s provides an inclusive food culture. Nando’s adaptations enabled the reduction of tensions in their families. These adaptations also were a representation of both their past, current and future food practices because the restaurant recognised these transitions.

## 7.5 Contributions of the study

### 7.5.1 Theoretical Contribution

Theoretically, this thesis has contributed to consumer culture theory by engaging in the study of migrant food consumption practices which has shown to be dynamic, multidimensional and fluid. Peoples' iidentities are fragmented in the specific sense that individuals can create multiple food consumption identities (Taheri & Jafari, 2014). Another way of seeing this is to build on Erikson's (1958) suggestion that in identity analysis, it can be difficult to separate an individual's personality from the social and cultural environment in which it is formed (Schachter, 2005). In food consumption, people eat meals either with others or in the presence of others (Pilgrim, 1957; Fischler, 1980) and these patterns are imbued with meanings (Fischler, 1980). The thesis follows Hall (2014) in recognizing that identities are *'routes'* and not pegged '*roots*' indicating the many factors that contribute to the migrant identity negotiations. This model indicates the 'routes' that make up these 'disintegrated identities'. The thesis has analysed these inbetweeners identities as 'disintegrated identities' which are presented in the model which has been referred to as the 'three layers of migrant identities.

As pointed out by Appiah (2018), individuals have multiple identities which are in most cases relational and contradictory. The thesis too rejects the notion that identity is static but largely depends on the social interactions encountered by the individual.

The next contribution has been to shown that one way to address the issue of symbolism is by rejecting the perspective that suggests that people consume products for their functionality alone (Featherstone, 2007; Arnould and Thompson, 2018). The literature in chapter three showed that food behaviours are moulded by consumers

who have different income levels and preferences for consumption patterns (Levy, 1956; McCracken, 1986; Belk, 1988). The thesis has attempted to add to consumer culture theory that acknowledges that consumers are not mere culture bearers but culture producers (Arnould and Thompson, 2018). This was also reflected in the respondents ambiguous identification with the identified ethnic restaurants. This was underpinned by cultural connotations that seemed to matter to Zimbabwean inbetweeners interests in ethnic food experience-oriented. They used these ethnic restaurants to pursue feelings of social solidarity with others by creating distinctive self- selected identities which created temporal cultural worlds and forged through common food consumption patterns. This thesis has attempted to add to the consumer culture theory by identifying how cultural symbols used by ethnic restaurants impacted to different degrees on the identity construction experiences of the inbetweeners (Arnould and Thompson, 2018).

### 7.5.2 Practical Contribution

This thesis makes a potential practical contribution to understanding the marketing of ethnic restaurants operating in the diaspora. Ethnic entrepreneurs need to understand how food can be a symbol of culture and how migrants in the diaspora use it as a national identity marker. They need to understand that stereotyping cultures and placing it in boxes may hinder their operations especially in migrant-receiving countries where multiculturalism is experienced. A different perspective is to consider this as a response to the challenge that was presented by McSweeney (2002) and Jafari (2009) that sees culture as a dynamic concept. The identity of individuals reflects how they are exposed to multiple social and cultural environments which are themselves always moving (Clifford, 1997; McSweeney, 2002; Jafari, 2009). This can be seen in the way banal nationalism (Billig, 2017) which continues to enable the construction of imagined

identities by migrants (Anderson, 1991). This further undermines the notion which sees culture as a static concept and has been powerfully used in business and management discipline (Hofstede, 1991; Steenkamp, 2001).

The analysis of the ways that the respondents related to the appeal of different ethnic restaurants for example; Nando's, Nakira and e'Khaya could also provide a valuable input for niche marketing. The thesis has attempted to show that the Zimbabwean inbetweeners were appreciative, but to a certain degree, of the way these restaurants attempted to appear authentic. In order to appeal to this part of the migrant element in their customer base, the ethnic restaurant must therefore, be conscious of the ways their differing attempts at authenticity were regarded as important by the Zimbabwean inbetweeners.

This information may be particularly helpful to ethnic entrepreneurs who are interested in finding a cultural identity with migrants in the diaspora. The various strategies of *purity, concreteness, hybridity and abstraction* are important areas of focus in balancing the drive to create an *'authentic'* experience and identity for an ethnic group and may feed into issues of décor, staff recruitment and training, the use of physical space, the use of natural ingredients and cooking methods are essential methods of managing an ethnic-focused business in a host country.

It is important for ethnic entrepreneurs to understand that the authenticity which they seek to provide may be elusive and lies on a continuum. Balancing the restaurant in this continuum could be crucial for maintaining the right customer base, taste, and attraction.

The knowledge on the various acculturation agencies such as gender, age, the length of stay in a host country, and the economic independence of the migrant could also help the ethnic entrepreneur in designing marketing strategies.

### 7.6 Limitations of the Study

There are a number of limitations to this study.

First, this study is a single-country of Zimbabwe and how Zimbabwean migrants have developed foods consumption practices in the diaspora.

Second, this is a thesis focused on a particular group of individuals who are located in a particular space at a particular time. This might not necessarily give the full consumption experiences obtained since there could be a limitation of experiences as obtained at one point in time. More importantly, since individual lives are dynamic and identity itself is multidimensional, these experiences acquired today might change later.

Third, this is a thesis undertaken by an insider. This is a strength because the researcher managed to access some respondents who were under the migration radar. The terminology used by the respondents was easily understood by the researcher especially when they mentioned the foods so reducing the amount of time spent on questioning them. However, the research also recognised that there were some insider limitations. Participants might also have felt reluctant to release pertinent information about their Zimbabwean heritage knowing that the researcher has the same background or heritage.

Fourth, the respondent numbers were very small too, so the research is unable to generalise.

### 7.7 Directions for future research on identity and food

First, future research could focus on a comparison of two or three migrant groups from different countries in the UK to explore how identity is created from different cultural perspectives. Southern Africa as a region is defined as the southernmost part of the African continent with a population of 67,562,185 (Worldometer,2020) divided between 10 countries namely Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia.

A cross-national or comparative study of two or more ethnic migrant countries might enrich further study by providing meaningful information on various acculturation strategies among other ethnic groups and how issues such as the ‘‘imagined homeland’’ are perceived. This could also enhance the understanding of how identity is constructed from different cultural and national perspectives and provide a better understanding of identity construction, food consumption and the expression of nostalgic feelings regarding other imagined homelands.

Second, future research could also be focused more on understanding the conscious marketing strategies of ethnic restaurants in their bid to provide authentic cousins and recipes to migrants in a multicultural environment like Britain. This might involve interviewing owners as to their intentions as well as looking at outcomes. This might provide important input for managing ethnic restaurants in the UK and other multicultural environments.

Third, future research could focus on undertaking a more mixed-method approach whereby some quantitative study could be used to validate the findings obtained in the qualitative study. It might be possible to develop a study where variables such as the perception of authenticity, identity, and food consumption experience could be

measured quantitatively. This could provide other ways of validating important concepts in this qualitative study.

Fourth, future research could also widen respondent numbers. This could provide another angle of understanding the phenomena and may help with the issue of generalisation.

### 7.8 Chapter Conclusion

This thesis began by embracing diversity in connection with food and identity construction. This chapter has presented a summary of the research findings, the major contributions in the study, the research and practical implications of the study, the limitations, and the expected future research directions. This thesis set out to understand the inbetweeners a group of migrants from Zimbabwe living in the UK and the ways in which food consumption helped them to form identities. The thesis has shown that this is partly a story of the sense of distance travelled which is measured not only in miles but also in society, culture and politics. It has shown that their story is about the dynamism in identity formation and food consumption. And it has shown the importance of having a sense of differentiation not to a settled position but as part of a developing process as the inbetweeners travel on their continuing journeys.

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# Appendix A

**Sample Questionnaire**

My name is Thomas Magede and I am currently doing my PhD at the University of Wolverhampton. My area of research is that of food consumption and identity formation among migrants. Your participation in this interview is voluntary and anonymous and the information you give in this interview will remain confidential and will only be used for research purposes by myself and my research Supervisors (Professor, Michael Haynes and Dr Jenni Jones) at the University of Wolverhampton. These research supervisors can be reached …… It is important that you answer the questions to the best of your knowledge.

1. **Demographic questions**

a. **Please state your gender?**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Gender** | Male | | Female | |

**b. What is your age?**

| **Age** | **16** | **17** | **18** | **19** | **20** | **21** | **22** | **23** | **24+** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | |

**c. Where were you born?**

| Zimbabwe Urban | Zimbabwe Rural | UK |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

d. Where did you do your schooling? Please tick where appropriate.

Zimbabwe……. UK……. Both Countries……

1) If you went to school in both countries, how did the change experience make you feel?

2) Do you have family in the UK? YES NO

3) What job do your parents do?

4) How did they find this country compared to Zimbabwe?

5) Have you visited Zimbabwe since coming to the United Kingdom? YES ☐ NO ☐

6) What can you remember about the visit?

7) When you were in Zimbabwe during the visit, where did you go?

8) What is your favourite memory about Zimbabwe?

Tell me more?

9) What is your least favourite memory?

Tell me more?

10) Do you have a favourite smell of the country? Yes NO

If 'yes' then why is this smell distinct?

- What is your least favourite smell?
- What sounds do you remember?
- When you were you there, where you asked about life in UK?
- Could you give some examples of things that you said?

Food experiences

1) When you travelled back to Zimbabwe, tell me, what food did you eat?
   - How did you find the food after you had been away for so long?
2) When you came to Britain for the first time, how did you find the food?
   - What did you think of the UK prior to coming to the UK?
3) What were your thoughts about British food when you came to Britain?
4) What are your thoughts now that you have been here for some time?
   - Tell me more……
5) Tell me about the places you go to when you want to eat food here in Britain?
   - Explain to me why you go to these places.....?
6) If there was to be a different place selling different food, would you go there?
   - Tell me more about that.…
7) Where do you buy the ingredients you use in your cooking at home?
   - Explain why they do not or they matter to you?
8) Does using any ingredients matter to you when you are cooking your food at home?
   - Tell me more why ingredients matter?
9) If you want to know more about the food that you can eat, where do you go for information?
   - Explain?

10) If you were to go out with friends or family, what would attract you most when selecting eating out places?

- Can you explain more on the things that attract you and why you say so?

11) Could you explain a dish you consider to be your favourite?

- Why is this food your favourite?

12) What does being Zimbabwean mean to you?

13) How did you come to learn about the British culture?

- Tell me more?

14) What does being British mean to you?

15) Where do you get your information if you want to understand Britishness or the British identity?

16) How do you go about finding about the Zimbabwean culture and food?

17) What food do you think symbolises Britishness? Could you explain a lot more on the points you have raised please?

18) What were your thoughts about British food before you came to Britain?

20) If you want to know more about the food you want to eat when you go out, where do you gather the information?

21) If you were to go out with friends and family to eat, what would attract you to go to a particular restaurant or place?

22) Do you have any sources that you rely on for information when you want to decide on what to eat?

23) Do you think food defines you? Is so, which type of food and why do you think it does define you?

24) Does your upbringing in Zimbabwe come in the way when you choose what to eat?

Thank you for participating in this interview

# Appendix B

| Respondents | Word count |
|---|---|
| Awa | 11302 |
| Den | 10986 |
| Desiree | 12125 |
| Ed | 7352 |
| Elias | 8732 |
| Fatima | 14172 |
| Gloria | 8085 |
| Kenny | 10799 |
| Kudzi | 8529 |
| Lilly | 13083 |
| Martin | 9675 |
| Munya | 6305 |
| Panashe | 10778 |
| Sandra | 12169 |
| Travis | 12984 |
| Yolanda | 11353 |
| **Total** | **168, 429** |

# Appendix C

This Appendix includes contextual information from the restaurants. Included are the components that were discussed by the respondents and was analysed using the FAMM model. Each restaurant's design, location and ambience was described here to show the impact of the identified elements on the respondents identity projects. This data is based on three ethnic restaurants – e'Khaya, Nakira and Nando's.

This Appendix offers an analysis of 3 local Southern African and Zimbabwean restaurants used by some of the 'inbetweeners' in the sample. It uses the adapted FAMM model as set out below to establish the context in terms of how to the experience of eating out and the symbolism of the experience offered by the three restaurants to their customer base including the inbetweeners.

Management Control Systems

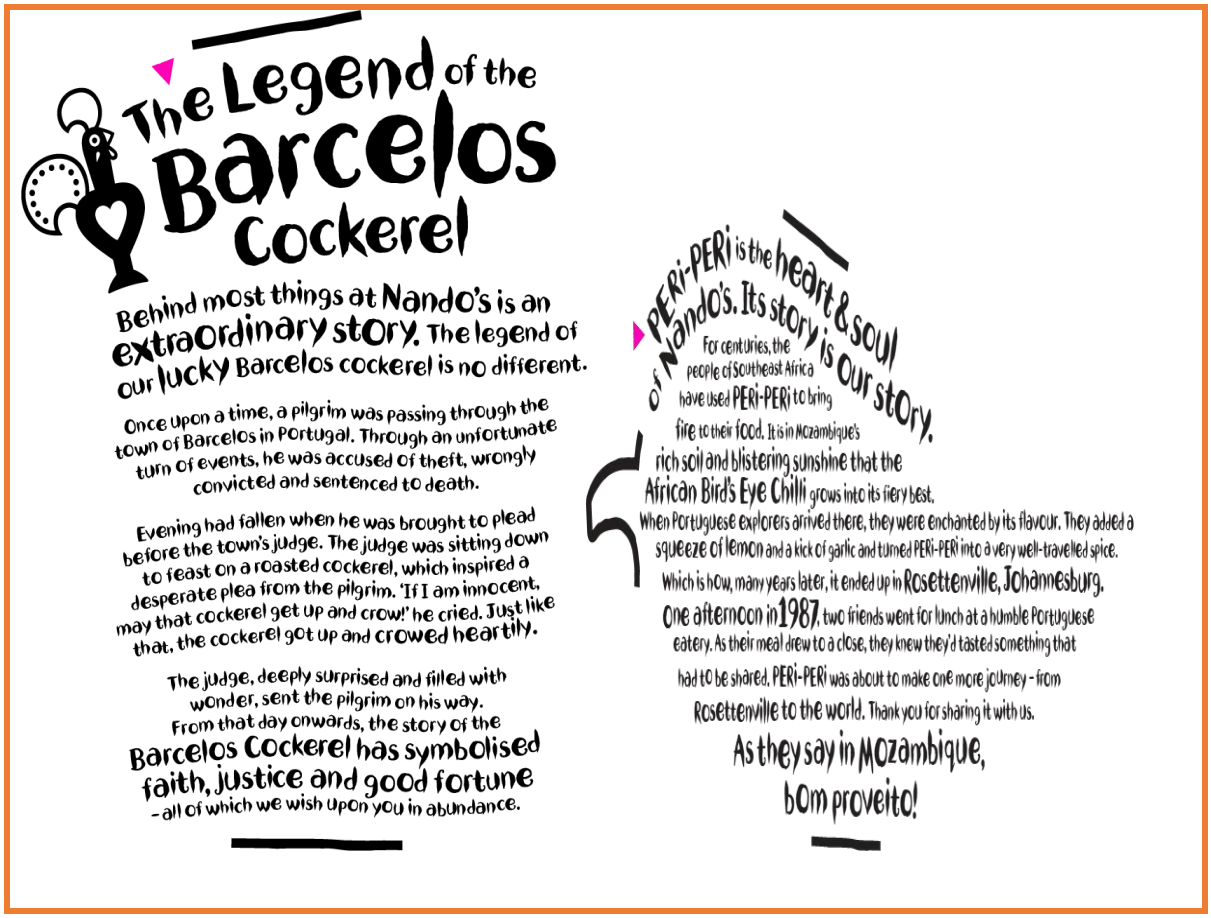
Type of Restaurant: Nando's is an international commercial chain restaurant which started its operation in the UK as a franchise. Nando's started in the UK in 1992 with its Bentley Bridge branch as one of the 340 restaurant outlets throughout the UK (Gander, 2017).

The Name: The name Nando's is advertised as being the shortened form of the Portuguese name Fernando. This is the name of one of the founders. Nando's was founded by Robert Brozin with Fernando Duarte in Johannesburg in 1987. The name appears to be generic, familiar and exotic at the same time.

The Cuisine: Nando's suggests it offers a generic 'Southern African' cuisine focused on serving Peri-peri chicken, chips and burgers. Various symbols are used to represent the ethnic restaurant aspect of the restaurant.

Advertised Ethnic story: The food offering is supported by a detailed 'ethnic story' about the food itself. Figure below shows the Barcelós cockerel and the peri-peri story shaped like a chicken.

The Nando's brand story




Source: Nando's, (n.d)

There are two stories; one of the Barceló's 'Portuguese' legend and one of the 'African' birds-eye chilli which is 'from' Mozambique and their main distinctive ingredient. Nando's claims that the Barceló's legend is popular among the Portuguese people. It uses the Barceló story to portray a 'Portuguese'

image as part of the management strategy. The Barcelós also portrays the heritage of one of the owners. The peri-peri panel seems to be telling a story of the way people in 'southern Africa' have traditionally used the 'African' birds-eye chilli in their food and how the 'Portuguese' explorers added garlic and lemon as well as the explanation of the adoption of the peri-peri by Nando's in South Africa. This also applies to the chicken-shaped narrative which shows where the restaurant originated from and the type of ingredients that form the base of their food patterns. These two stories are usually put on the wall and clearly written 'Our Story'. In the Bentley Bridge branch, the Barceló's legend is pasted on the wall right above the area where people collect their sauces. The stories are available in both the physical restaurant and the social world in Nando's advertising materials.

Target Customers: Nando's generally targets a mass customer base. All Nando's branches including the Bentley bridge seem to target younger and family-oriented customers of all races ranging from lower to middle-income levels who are interested in casual dining. Nando's tires to serve a mass consumer base that visits the restaurant at any one time. They also now offer 'takeaway' meals.

The Physical Environment; 'Servicescape'

The Location: Nando's usually takes central positions in new buildings. The Nando's branch chosen for this research is in Wednesfield's Bentley Bridge Leisure Park which is approximately two miles from Wolverhampton city centre.

The Building: Nando's occupied a new building at Bentley Bridge in 2010. This Nando's branch is surrounded by other buildings and there are two car parks in front of the restaurant.

Nando's Bentley Bridge Exterior


Sources: (Anon., 2017)

The residential areas surrounding Nando's have a mixture of migrants from different parts of the world and locals. Wolverhampton has a population of 260 000; 35.5% are from Black Minority Ethnic communities (City of Wolverhampton Council, 2019). Wednesbury has an approximate population of 33,000.

The Use of exterior dining space: The Nando's Bentley Bridge branch has a seating area that takes approximately 160 people. This branch of Nando's has no formal external dining area but the veranda and paved area allow for outside seating in warmer weather.

The Sound: Sound and music are important in designing a room. Music in Nando's is preselected and involves the payment of performing rights. The music played in Nando's is from all over the world. However, 'Afro music' seems to be the most played. The musicians whose music is played in the restaurant include Los Sitio Asere by Afro Cuban All Starts (Cuba), Boas Festas by Luis Morais (Cuba), Sabine Largam by Cesaria Evora (Cape Verde), Ndakuvara by Oliver Mtukudzi (Zimbabwe), and Mas Que Nada by Miriam Makeba (South Africa).

The External and Internal Décor: There are two Nando's signs on either side of the restaurant's front. On one side of the building, the signage is imprinted on what looks like dry wood. Nando's indicates that it follows a popular 'southern African' artistic way of hand-painting letters and characters.

‘When we looked at refining our quirky Nando’s font, we were once more inspired by the tradition of sign-writing in Southern Africa. So, we asked Marks Salimu – a South African sign-writer and talented artist to help us out.  Marks hand-painted all our letters and characters onto wooden panels and these were made into our new, refined font’ (Nando's, 2019).

They support their story by describing their journey and eventually identifying Salimu as a black South African sign writer. On the other side, the name Nando’s is written on a grey surface using the restaurant chain’s usual red colour and the distinct apostrophe.

The restaurant says that it adopted the red colour because of the key distinctive item of its cooking – the peri-peri sauce. They say ‘we’re so passionate about PERi-PERi, we wanted to make it our official colour’ (Nando's, 2019). There is a potted shrub standing by the entrance to reduce the otherwise severe effect of the new building. Nando’s appears to use the signs and symbols of the peri-peri apostrophe and the red colour and the font to make connections with their ‘southern African’ roots albeit in an abstract fashion.

The photographs used here were taken professionally for Nando’s for its Bentley Bridge restaurant. Internally the décor within the Bentley Bridge branch allowed Nando’s designers more freedom to create a room with the décor of their choice in alignment with the centralised requirements and image standardisation purpose.

Figure 6.3 below shows the interior décor of the Bentley Bridge branch of Nando’s. The images in Figure 6.3 seem to be purposely showing the mixture of cultures by the way symbols are strategically placed. The reeds and the pillars are in the shape of a tree with its canopy (the ceiling) way too high and the pots and the sticks are representing African cooking. They seem to be merging these with the background elements in the form of the lights on the wall and the elevated. The elements in the background are important in the narrative and are used to back-up the Nando’s casual ‘Southern African’ dining narrative.

Interior décor for Nando’s Bentley Bridge

Source: (Nando's Bentley Bridge, 2015)

Figure 6.4 shows another inside view. In front of the 'African' art on the wall are three pots placed above the tap where people wash their hands before eating food. Accompanying them are 'African' masks with one of them lit up by a single light. There are also flower pots placed on the sides of the 'African' masks.

Interior décor for Nando's Bentley Bridge

Sources: (Nando's Bentley Bridge, 2015)

Figure 6.4 has the words ‘Nando’s Bentley Bridge, Wolverhampton’ in Nando’s new font. There are two dark lampshades and it has small red chilli shapes amongst the black covers. Next to the lampshades is a signage that says Nando’s Bentley Bridge Wolverhampton. This type of font was borrowed by Nando’s from directional signs in Johannesburg ‘because it pays homage to our roots, it's perfect for helping you navigate your way around Nando’s’ (Nando's, 2020).

There are colourful empty chairs and ‘African’ art on the wall. The chairs painted red are more striking. The seating area has many chairs facing one long bench-style seat. Others seats are set in a round format with a table in the middle. Menus on the table are supported by a heart-shaped stand.

The social conventions around the symbols in this image vary from subliminal to bold declarations of the restaurant - the red chilli shapes on the lampshades, the red colour on the chairs. Other bold symbols include the pots, the ‘African’ masks, which when they are all combined gives clues about their claimed ‘southern African’ association. Here Nando’s reduces spaces between the chairs. It appears that they intend to make people feel like they are one large family. For example, people sitting on the long sitting area and the circular sitting areas make the restaurant feel like a family communal area. Such a set-up encourages interaction. This seems like an abstract depiction of an ‘African’ community albeit in Wolverhampton.

The Meeting

Service Expectations: Nando’s seem to use advertising and images to create a set of service expectations for its customers and staff. It does this by combining both national and local advertising. Most of these advertisements are varied in the way they construct an abstract southern African cuisine. For the initial meeting between customers and Nando’s the front staff offer the customers a dinning place to sit. Customers then have to approach the customer service desk to order their meals.

Kitchen Staff and Food Preparation: All the staff that work at Nando’s are known as Nandocas. The Kitchen staff use pre-prepared foods packed from their main factory. Their responsibility is to only grill the chicken and fry the chips. Nando’s offers in-house training to their kitchen staff to understand the whole cooking process including flame chicken grilling and the frying of chips. Nando’s ‘cooking’ is therefore not scratch cooking, it is primarily about finishing.

Food Service - the meal in Nando's is usually brought to the customer on a plate by the front staff. Nando's recruit staff from different backgrounds. Waiters and waitresses are of different races, but largely a white background at the Bentley Bridge branch. Waiters offer the customer the opportunity to ask for more plates if needed.

Image below shows Nando's professional image of a member of the waiting staff delivering food to a waiting table. The image is staged and was taken by a professional photographer for advertising purposes. A white, young, female waiter is holding a plate with chicken and chips, roasted maize on the cob and a cocktail stick with a red sticker.

Nando's Commercial


Source: Bridge (2012)

Looking closely at the picture, the waitress has a baseball cap on which Barceló's is printed. Her t-shirt is printed 'if PERI-PERI be the food of love' - a manipulated quote from Shakespeare's play Twelfth Night. A portrait is hanging on the wall in the background with two lamps on either side. Three women are in the portrait on the wall. One looks light-skinned while the other two women are dark-skinned. The dark-skinned women seem to be carrying things on their heads. One of the women has her back towards the sea and in front of them is two beached kayaks. The women seem to be dancing. The women are wearing colourful clothing although the dark-skinned women are wearing what looks like African print dresses.

This image can be seen on Nando's corporate website and the Wednesfield branch's social media website. The image appears to be highlighting the waitress, the food on her plate and the text on her t-shirt and cap and the women in the background painting as the important elements. In the same vein, they seem to include the portrait, the lights, and the darkened benches (seats) in the background to support their message. The portrait in the background appears to be carrying socio-cultural conventions commonly associated with 'African' traditions. Nando's seem to be showing these as expressions of an abstracted 'southern African' and 'Portuguese' food culture. The image seems to be portraying the journey that the women have travelled to bring the food being presented by the waitress. The photographer seems to have used the lines on the wall that runs across to connect this portrait with the waitress. The narrative is didactic and captures much into one picture.

Customer Interaction: The image below shows the type of customer interaction that Nando's wants to project. A group of young people are sitting on a table having their food and are engaged in conversations.

Nando's Commercial


Source: Watson (2018)

There are seven customers interacting while enjoying their meal. Five of them are seated at the table in the foreground. All the men are dressed in vests. The woman in the foreground has different types of foods on her plate. There is also a Barceló's chicken in the middle of the table and a bottle with a red chilli facing the camera. Above the text 'shuttle refills' there is a man in a black vest. He appears to be

gesturing as if he is in a conversation with the woman sitting across the table. The couch they are sitting on is bright yellow and there is what appears to be an artwork on the wall behind the group.

This image was taken from a video commercial of Nando's which is produced for their corporate website. The image is available as a still. Nando's appears to be placing the text, the man in the black vest, the woman with a plate of food and the space left between them as the important elements in this image. These people seem to be coming from outside activities as portrayed by their dress. The picture seems to have been taken in summer judging by their dressing, the lighting and the yellow couch which were used to illuminate the place.

It appears again as if Nando's seems to be promoting social group eating. They seem to be using the other people in the background who appear to be looking curiously at the interactions going on among the group in the foreground. The advertisement is also directional. The eye is drawn to seemingly 'healthy' foods by the flow of the text and the man in the vest with an outstretched arm. It appears that Nando's encourages healthy eating by linking dressing, the man drinking what looks like water and the type of food on the woman's plate.

The image below shows another specific Nando's Bentley Bridge advert portraying how they are an international restaurant but with a local outlook. The picture was taken for Nando's Wednesfield social media site. It appears to be showing that families can be part of its customer group and Nandos' too are part of the community. The man in the foreground and the children represent their connections with the local community but they appear also to be connected by strategically placing what seems to be Nando's signs such as the lampshades and the Barceló's story in the background.

Online advertising Marketing

Source: Nando's Bentley Bridge (2016)

The man in the picture looks like the father of the two children and is ordering food. They are all wearing jerseys of the local Wolverhampton Wanderers football team. The stripe colours are visible on the Nando's cash register which is partly obscured. Other people are also having their meals. The man, the children and other people in the image are of different ethnicities. Nando's appears to be using this image to show their relationship with the local people and businesses.

The Product

Menu; Image and Content:

Menus are snapshots in time. Physically they do not last long and restaurants can change their content and presentation. Nando's is a chain restaurant and all aspects of the menu are determined centrally. Presentation is easier to change than content but even this may be a problem for the bigger chain, so changes tend to be small. The image below shows the Nando's food and drinks menu.

Symbolic presentation

Source: (Portuguese, flame-grilled peri-peri chicken, 2020)

Three languages are used to label the food. Thus English (burgers, wraps), Portuguese (Fino, Macho peas, Dino) and Swahili (peri-peri which is pili-pili in Swahili). There are different colours for each section of the menu.  Nando's 'peri-peri chicken' section and the red heart are on a bright yellow background which makes it stand out. The text at the bottom of the 'peri-peri chicken' section says 'what we are famous for'. The symbols in this menu are the red heart, the peri-ometer, the chilli at the bottom of the image, the triangles and the font. There peri-ometer to shows the spiciness of the foods. Their foods in this menu are chicken, chips, burgers, wraps and salads.

It appears that Nando's uses language vocabulary to indicate their relationship with the three regions where they are operating. English for the UK, Portuguese for cooking practices and Swahili for some of their prized ingredients. Unlike other images where symbols are abstractions, Nando's appears to have strategically constructed this menu to show the many cultures they come into contact with.

Food Presentation: The image below shows food presentation at Nando's.

Nando's food presentation

Source: Nando's Bentley Bridge (2018)

As can be seen the image is not accompanied by text to indicate the origin of the restaurant. It relies on peoples' knowledge and understanding of signs. Lighting is used to capture the most important elements in this image. The important elements in the image are the food and the cracked table. The image uses the cracked table as a representation of a casual dining experience. The cracked table lines lead the viewer to see the plate with food at the foreground. These cracked lines are in-between the colourful pieces of timber illuminating the food placed on the table. The lines on the table are connected with the way they have placed the chicken separating it from the chips. The continuation of the lines is expressed on the grill marks on the chicken. The shorter line on the table in the foreground leading the viewer to the restaurant's other food trademark which is the peri-peri chips. The photographer also framed the cutlery and the serviette out indicating how these are of less importance. There are Nando's chicken and chips. Both flame grilling and the peri-peri sprinkled on the chicken are Nando's trademarks. The cocktail stick shows information about the spiciness of the chicken. A bowl with grilled vegetables and peri-peri chips is placed on a table. The conventions in this image are centred on the salient elements. Light is known for illuminating elements and by placing the food on a cracked and colourful table, Nando's seem to be intentionally using these to make their trademark 'style' bold.

The image below shows a Nando's peri-peri bottle with chips in a bowl.

Nando's food presentation


Source: Nando's Bentley Bridge (2018)

The name on this bottle is ‘Vusa’. It is also labelled ‘intense heat. There is also a bowl of peri-peri chips. Different colours run across in the background of the image. There are triangles in the form of colours (black, yellow and red) on the sides of the bottle associated with ‘African’ art. Although the chips are placed on the table, it appears Nando’s have used their role in a minimal and supportive way. The photographer has placed the bottle in the foreground and the text facing the camera. Nando’s appears to be using this ‘Vusa’ sauce to maintain the theme of language and heritage. It appears that the peri-peri name on the ‘Vusa’ bottle is a southern African name (particularly found in Zimbabwean Ndebele and South African Zulu languages) which means in Ndebele and Zulu to ‘awaken and excite’. Nando’s uses these abstractions to represent their relationship with southern Africa. In the image, the lighting is used to work on the colour of the product being presented in association with the meanings behind the peri-peri represented as ‘intense heat, African Spirit’. They seem to be using natural symbols of heat to represent Africa which is a normal western perception. The words ‘African Spirit’ seems to be referring to the ‘intense heat’ too from the peri-peri.

Nando’s appears again to be using other symbols such as the triangles on the sides of the bottle to represent Africa and the family. These triangles are in bright colours of yellow, red at the top and a darker shade as if it’s a silhouette. Nando’s states:

‘Silhouettes and patterns are big in African design. To honour our roots, they have African, Portuguese and Nando’s touches in just the right places’ [sic] (Nando's, 2019).

Portion Size: The image below shows the food portion sizes and how food is consumed at Nando's.

Portion, serving and consumption

Source: Nando's (2018)

In the image above, one hand is pouring peri-peri whiles there is a medium-sized bowl with peas. There are three plates; one has food, two are empty and two glasses of drinks showing that people are sharing the food. There is a sealed tub with processed 'perinaise' next to the plate. There is a set of cutlery and serviettes. The food is served on a large plate and people use separate plates to share if they are in a group. This advert also indicates the food portions. Nando's may be using their knowledge about eating habits and obesity levels in Britain hence the small portions. They seem to be showing that the food on the table is a portion for two people as can be seen by the two different hands performing different activities simultaneously and the two drinks.

The atmosphere

Nando's atmosphere is about interactions between people of all races and their staff who are from different backgrounds. This is achieved by the way the staff are recruited and trained to understand the food offerings since they are not acquainted with the 'African/Portuguese' and Nando's commercialised food practices. To complement this atmosphere Nando's décor makes the experience mixed because of their portraits and practices that resemble the imagined 'African' food practices and also other practices adopted from 'Europe'. The atmosphere in Nando's strives for an ambience which makes customers comfortable and relaxed.

Nakira

Management Control Systems

Type of Restaurant: Nakira is not a chain. It is a single restaurant run by two Zimbabwean entrepreneurs both raised in Zimbabwe and who migrated to the UK in the late 1990s. Nakira appeals to the middle-income earners in the inner-city areas of Birmingham.

Name: The name Nakira sounds exotic. As a word, it appears in several languages some of which are non-African. The word is not Shona, Ndebele, Afrikaans or Zulu but it 'sounds' Shona.

Cuisine: Nakira claims to offer an 'African' cuisine although it is dominated with 'Southern African' cuisine. The image below shows an advertisement posted on Nakira website promoting the ethnic food they serve customers.

Nakira's Commercial

Source: Mixed dish, Nakira Bar and Grill (2018)

Advertised Ethnic story: Nakira presents an image of the restaurant and the food as a 'melting pot' of various southern 'African' food cultures. Nakira is not defining a narrow target market but rather presenting itself as a place where people eat food that connects them with a larger 'Africa'. The different foods in the platter in figure 6.12 are signs that appeal to the people who know these foods. Sadza and boerewors are common foods in southern Africa; plantains are popular in West Africa although people in the Caribbean eat them as well. The chips, being a small portion, seem to be indicating that this restaurant where most people will seek ethnic foods. But other foods are available.

Target Customers: It appears to promise consumers a bridge between fine and casual dining. The target customer base of Nakira is mid-market and it appeals to customers of all ethnicities but with a focus on Africans, black Africans and southern Africans.

The Physical Environment- 'servicescape'

Location: Nakira is located in the Birmingham city centre and is five minutes' walk from Birmingham central train station. Birmingham has a population of 1,141, 400 people and all the ethnic groups make-up 46.3 percent (Birmingham City Council, 2020).

Building: Nakira uses a building that has always been operated by businesses in the entertainment industry since 1914 when it was built (Nakira Bar and Grill, 2020). The restaurant capacity is 80 with people sitting at different sections across the large restaurant space.

Décor- External and Internal:

The image below shows the exterior of Nakira restaurant in Birmingham. The restaurant has limited front space but opens up once one has gone inside.

Nakira exteriors

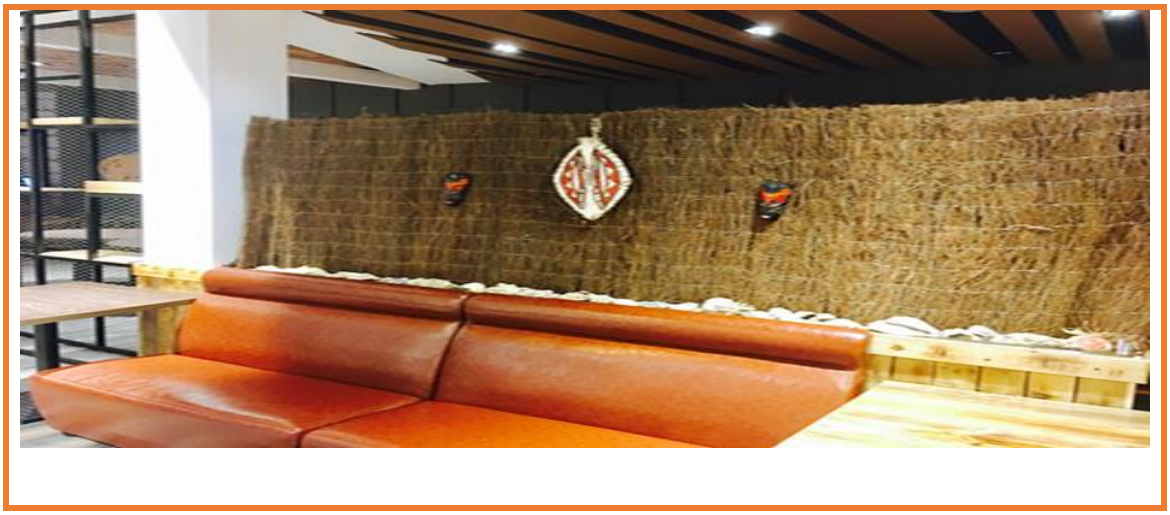

Source: Gourmet Society (2019)

The external décor at Nakira seems limited. In this image, there is Nakira's small signage hanging above the entrance. Two silhouettes are imprinted on the front. These silhouettes appear to be like men dressed in Zulu warriors' attire, holding spears and shields. 'Bar' and 'Grill' words are written on either side of the Nakira name and silhouettes. The Nakira menu is displayed at the entrance and there is a small grey barrier with two menu posters pasted by the entrance. This is not a professional image. The objects positioned at the entrance and the image seems to be cutting out other storefronts and the tree which might obstruct the view of the signage.

It appears they used the yellow paint against the backdrop of the signage with semi-abstract cultural elements (silhouettes) in the middle of the signage and on the menu. By having the menu with these cultural elements, Nakira seems to be using this outside space to pronounce their identity which is defined by the many foods on the menu.

Internally Nakira seems to have used a variety of cultural symbols to represent the many African cultures and African cultural cuisines. The image below is from a blogger who wrote about the 'African' restaurant with African cuisine in Birmingham. This blogger captures the elements that support the 'Africanness' of the restaurant particularly the straw partitioning.

Straw Partitioning



Source: Laura (2017)

There are two couches in front of the huge straw partitioning. The straw divides sections of the restaurant. Two ‘African’ masks and a small shield are hanging on the straw. These are the important cultural elements in the image. The seating area has some sections purposely cut out. The bright elements of the sofa and the light seem to be illuminating the straw - something which is not found in many restaurants in the UK. The restaurant appears to have brought in straws and hung the masks as a way of representing a traditional village in ‘Africa’. They seem to be using these symbols to represent Africa while the red couches seem to be used to juxtapose differences in cultures and how they form part of the Nakira ‘African’ experience. The image also comes from a blogger of an online magazine.

Décor inside Nakira Bar and Grill

Sources: Laura (2017)

This image shows a silhouette of what looks like an African woman or girl wearing a traditional dress with what seems like arrows on her back. In the darkened sitting area, there is a portrait of a western street café hanging on the wall. A mix of different coloured chairs are present with some standing where there is a colourful African print. The designer has positioned the woman/girl on the wall that forms the entrance of a cubicle. It is as if she is overseeing this cubicle and the western street café image in the background. This image of an African woman and the street café seems to bring together the story of Nakira being an African restaurant in the 'West'. By placing the woman on the foreground and the western restaurant in the background, Nakira seems to illuminate the presence of an African restaurant with African traditions in the 'west'. It also seems to be suggesting that although Nakira is an African restaurant, it intends to mix cultures.

Sound: Sound enhances the experiences in a room and the room design. Nakira plays different types of contemporary music although 'African' artists dominate. Their music is played on a sound system connected to YouTube among other sources of African music. The restaurant plays music from

Zimbabwe with artists such as Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo, Tocky Vibes and some South African musicians.

The Meeting

Service Expectations: Nakira appears to use symbols to communicate the service expectations to both their customers and members of staff. They communicate this through their website, social media, blogs written by organisations such as Gourmet Society and TripAdvisor and local advertising.

Kitchen Staff and Food Preparation: Nakira employs kitchen staff with knowledge of cooking cuisines from different parts of Africa because most of their food is cooked from scratch except foods such as burgers and chips which are pre-packed. The first manager was of Chinese descent and was later replaced by an Indian woman. The front house has waiters and waitresses from different ethnic backgrounds. They have had Asian managers over the last three years from the start of this study. Waiters and waitress with knowledge of the wide arrays of the food they serve take orders from the customers after sitting them down. African waiters are used mostly to serve African dishes and the European staff concentrate on other cuisines that crossover such as burgers and chips.

Customer Interaction: The image below shows that Nakira uses sitting arrangements to capture customer interactions.

The sitting arrangements in Nakira

Source: (Nakira,2018)

There are at least 20 chairs, six tables and two seating booth sofas where at least four people can seat comfortably. An ‘African’ mask is hanging on the wall and next to it is what appears to be a winery with

an ‘African’ water vessel positioned in the middle. The layout and the proximity of the sitting areas have been purposely done. It appears as if Nakira’s focus is on the food cuisines with limited attention to customer interactions. Unlike Nandos, most, if not all the images, do not have images of people interacting. In the same vein, the restaurant appears to use food quantities in bowls and sitting arrangement to reflect on how they value customer interactions.

The image below shows a large bowl on the table at Nakira restaurant.

Food and consumer interaction

Source: Nakira (2018)

There are wings, chips, corn on the cob, two bowls with food and kebabs. Nakira appears to use such images of large open ‘trays’ with plenty of food to show the interactions that customers should expect when they eat in their restaurant. It seems that what matters to Nakira is the way people implicitly experience and interact as a group eating various cuisines placed in this large open serving ‘tray’.

The product

Menu- Image and Content: The Nakira menu is divided into various sections; burgers; African game; ‘Braai’ (barbecue) and seafood. Nakira’s menu is associated with game meat. There is crocodile, ostrich, venison, springbok, sirloin, jerk chicken meats, falafel and halloumi skewers. Jolof rice and olives are among other foods on the menu. Nakira again appears to be using the west’s perceptions of ‘Africa’ to its advantage. They use game meat to drive their agenda. Game meat is among other traditional cuisines such as sadza, mazondo (cow foot) and vegetables and these require staff to have

product knowledge in preparing and serving these foods. Offering explanations about the game meat on the menu is a strategy used by the restaurant to show their ethnic background and also to show them accommodating other people who may have no understanding of the cuisines on the menu. The image below shows Nakira food menu header.

Menu symbolic presentation


Source: Nakira Bar and Grill (2018)

The two silhouettes seem to be stylised ‘Zulu’ men dressed in traditional clothes with shields and spears. Nakira appears to use a semi-abstract representation of Africa for its customers. The image below shows how Nakira mixes Zimbabwean, South African, and Mediterranean cuisines.

Nakira menu

BURGERS

CLASSIC BEEF BURGER 9.95
A burger made from Aberdeen Angus meat

6OZ ALPACA BURGER 11.95
Alpaca meat is lean and tender, it is one of the healthiest, most flavourful meats in the world high in protein low in fat and cholesterol

6OZ OSTRICH BURGER 12.95
One of the finest red meat and is very tasty, the fat and cholesterol content is lower than chicken or fish

CROCODILE BURGER 11.95
Crocodile meat is very juicy and tender meat with a firm texture, this meat also benefits from being low in cholesterol

*All burgers come with coleslaw and chips and served on a warm bun with crispy lettuce, slice fresh tomatoes, red onions and a choice of peri peri sauce or mayonnaise*

TOPPINGS 0.95p each
- Streaky bacon
- Melted cheese
- Crispy onion rings
- Mushrooms
- Fried egg

AFRICAN GAME

SPRINGBOK STEAK 26.75
Springbok meat is low in fat, tender and juicy

OSTRICH RUMP 26.25
Ostrich meat tastes similar to a fine steak and is also a very healthy alternative to traditional meats

VENISON STEAKS 21.95
Venison is meat of the deer, has a rich flavour as you would expect from being in the wild, very low in fat and cholesterol, but very high in B vitamins, iron and phosphorus

All served with a glass of wine perfectly matched to accompany the meal, potato fondant, red wine jus and dressed roquette leaves

*Please ask your waiter for the wine match of the day*

BRAAI

BOEREWORS SKEWERS 14.95
Boerewors sausage on large skewers flame grilled served with shakalaka

PERI PERI CHICKEN SKEWERS 11.95
Pieces of peri peri seasoned chicken, skewered and flame grilled served with shakalaka

JERK CHICKEN SKEWERS 11.95
Grilled chicken seasoned with jerk spices, skewered and grilled served with shakalaka

FALLAFEL AND HALLOUMI SKEWER 9.95
With sweet chilli and served with shakalaka

SIRLOIN STEAK 17.95
A 10oz steak cut from a strip loin served with mushrooms, grilled tomato and hand cut chips

SURF AND TURF 21.75
8oz steak, grilled large tiger prawns served with mushrooms, grilled tomatoes and hand cut chips

GRILLED BOEREWORS 15.95
Originated from South Africa, Boerewors is a sausage containing various meats with a mixture of herbs and spices served with shakalaka and polenta

NAKIRA BRAAI 47.95
Boerewors, beef, nyama choma, peri peri chicken, jerk chicken, chicken wings, large black tiger prawns, chips, shakalaka, salad, and corn on the cob

FOM THE SEA

WHOLE LOBSTER 22.95
Whole grilled lobster served with sweet potato fries and garlic butter

HALF LOBSTER 14.75
Served with sweet potato fries and garlic butter

FISH OF THE DAY
Ask your server for more information

Source: Author (2018)

Food Presentation: In the image below, a white plate is placed underneath a food skewer. In the plate, there is a small portion of sadza which is placed in the background. Two small bowls with what appears to be Chakalaka and spring greens in the other bowl. The skewer has barbecued boerewors sausages cut into small pieces and between the sausages are peppers. In the background, there is text with the silhouettes of men again dressed as what looks like Zulu warriors holding shields and spears across the top of the food set up. This image seems to be placing importance on a white plate and the lighting is used to reflect the restaurant as clean and a place for social interactions. Nakira appears to be combining skewers and sadza in the background, the exotic name Nakira and the silhouettes of the men that look like Zulu warriors to depict their ethnic but imprecise regional cuisine.

Nakira food presentation

Source: Nakira (2018)

The lighting is directed at the food area with the image darkened.

Portion Size: The image below shows food portions and how the food is consumed at Nakira. The portions are small, and they are served on a serving board. Nakira seems to have put the food on the serving board to reflect the quantities of food. Besides, the image does not seem to suggest just how many people can consume this food. Nakira traditional foods are mostly eaten by consumers using their fingers.

Portion sizes

Source: Nakira (2018)

The atmosphere

In Nakira, the restaurant is about diversity with an 'African' focus. The surrounding city centre environment has its influence on the atmosphere of different types of consumers interaction during food consumption activities in the restaurant. Even though the atmosphere is African, consumers experience during their interactions a cosmopolitan restaurant with a semi-abstract positioning of African experiences.

e’Khaya

Management Control Systems

Type of Restaurant: e’Khaya is a single restaurant which also provides external catering services at different events for various groups of people. The owner of e’Khaya is Ben Masina a Zimbabwean and of Shona descent who migrated to the United Kingdom in the early 2000s.

Name: The word e’Khaya comes from Ndebele and Zulu meaning ‘home’.

Cuisine: The cuisine offered at e’Khaya is ‘Zimbabwean’ reflecting the owner’s sense of national identity.

Advertised Ethnic story: e’Khaya particularly uses its website to post information about their restaurant as well as advertise new cuisines. The image below shows how e’Khaya uses the artwork of nature and

wildlife to represent ‘Africa’ in their advertising. This image was developed for e’Khaya when they started operating in the U.K

e’Khaya advertising


Source: e'Khaya (2018)

In this advertisement, the borders purposely separate both the orange and black backgrounds. The orange top half of the inset has silhouettes of game animals - a rhinoceros, a lion and two giraffes. The sun is setting in the background. This restaurant also appears to be using ‘western’ views of nature and the safari as symbols that represent Africa. The bottom half has text with the name e’Khaya restaurant and the tagline ‘Home Away from Home’. The phrase ‘home away from home’ seems to be used to emphasise a ‘home’ which is both far and yet reachable but idealised through the silhouettes of animals and the sunset. However, another ‘home’ can be brought to reality in the form of food and the experience of its being consumed at e’Khaya.

The advertisement in the image below shows the important elements strategically placed with the cultural symbols and signs that reflect e’Khaya’s association with southern Africa and Zimbabwe.

Three-legged pot and e’Khaya logo


Source: e'Khaya (2019)

The photograph uses lines to direct the eye to the important information the restaurant is conveying. A line across the bottom separates visual information from the text. Here, an ethnic story is captured partly by the e'Khaya logo. This shows an 'African' hut in the background. Below the hut is steam rising from the letter 'e'. The 'African' art again uses triangles below the words e'Khaya – inverting the hut shape. There is a black three-legged African pot called the potjie, boerewors sausages and meat. There are colourful ingredients and cooked food in the pot and the oily Chakalaka is tipped next to the boerewors sausages, green peppers and chilli. Chakalaka is spicy African vegetable relish traditionally served with bread, sadza, samp, stews, and curries. It is a popular spicy Sowetan dish - the oldest South African township. Light is used to show the freshness of the ingredients used in the preparation of food e'Khaya.

Target Customers: The target customer base of e'Khaya is predominantly southern African but it makes an explicit appeal to black Zimbabweans and South Africans. e'Khaya's target income group are lower-level earners which also makes it attractive for migrants from southern Africa.

The Physical Environment- 'servicescape'

Location: e'Khaya is located in Dudley-Tipton area which is located between Birmingham and Wolverhampton. The Dudley population is 312,925 (Dudley Metropolitan Council, 2020).

Building: e'Khaya operates from a small old building that was once used by another restaurant that specialised in African cuisines. The image below shows the e'Khaya restaurant's external front of their building.

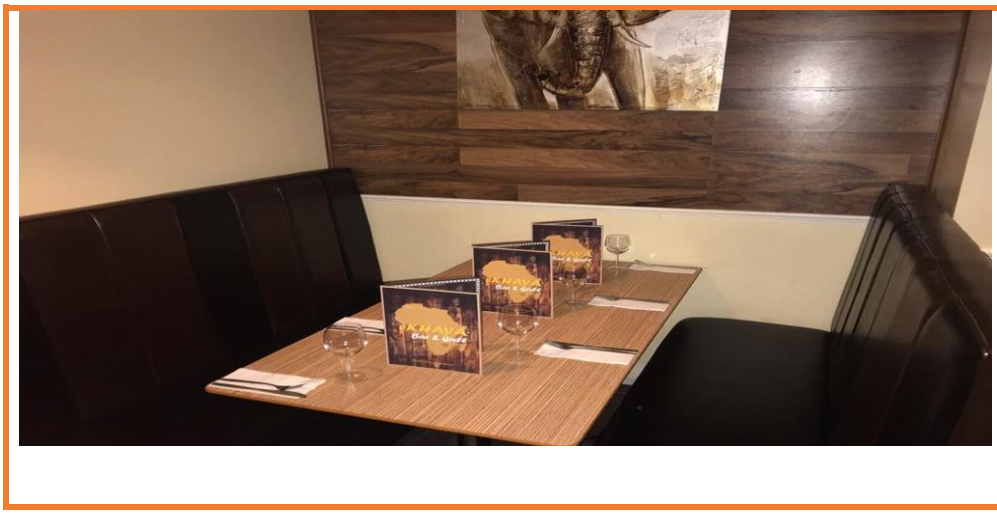
e’Khaya restaurant storefront


Source: e'Khaya (2016)

Décor- External and Internal: A banner carrying the name of the restaurant is spread across the front of the restaurant building. On the banner are two chillies on a white background and they are accompanied by text which is the name of the restaurant. In the background inside the restaurant, an image of an elephant can be seen. A person is sitting outside the restaurant.

The image below shows e’Khaya restaurant’s interior decor. The image was taken by the e’Khaya owner when he had just opened the restaurant and people can see this image on the restaurant’s social media.

e’Khaya interior décor



Source: e'Khaya (2017)

We see a large image of an elephant in this seating cubicle. Three menus with a map of Africa are placed on the table and next to them are wine glasses. Serviettes and cutlery are neatly placed on the table. The accommodation of other cuisines is represented by the positioned wine glasses and cutlery and the effects of light focus on the cultural artefacts that matter to the ethnic restaurant narrative. It appears that the dominating theme is an 'African' identity supported by the large elephant image - bearing down this cubicle and the bright yellow colour of the African map on the front of the menu which is filling in a supportive role.

Use of exterior dining space: The image below shows the e'Khaya's external space and how they utilize it to extend the restaurant room.

e'Khaya's back garden

Source: e'Khaya (2017)

In the image above, the restaurant shows its back garden leading to the back of other houses making it part of the housing environment. This image too is on their social media and was taken by the owner of e'Khaya. e'Khaya's external back-garden space has eight wooden tables attached to benches. These are placed on a green astroturf surface. The fence is lined with bamboo sticks and a hedge to give customers some level of privacy. For e'Khaya restaurant, this appears to be important in the image in communicating an 'authentic' 'home away from home' experience. They seem to be using this outside set-up to represent a home where people sit around the table as a family or community and share food. But the illusion is disrupted by the environment in a residential area where e'Khaya's back-garden goes into other house's back-gardens.

Sound: The music played in e'Khaya restaurant is mostly music 'Zimbabwean' and 'South African'; artists such as Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo, Tocky Vibes and Mafikizolo and other artists from South Africa.

The Meeting

Service Expectations: e'Khaya promises its customers a Zimbabwean focussed service and products. In most of their marketing materials, e'Khaya's focus is on traditional food practices. They seem to be doing this to encourage the customers to embrace their ethnic story. e'Khaya allows the customers to order their food from the till.

Kitchen Staff and Food Preparation: The owner has other Zimbabwean chefs, waitresses and waiters who do the cooking. e'Khaya has a mixed front staff of waiters and waitresses. e'Khaya serves traditional cuisines such as sadza, mazondo (cow foot) and vegetables which requires staff to have product knowledge in the preparation and serving of these foods.

Customer Interaction:  Customer interaction is a major part of activities at e'Khaya. The image below shows consumers interacting in e'Khaya's back garden.

e'Khaya customer interaction

Source: e'Khaya (2017)

A group of customers are seen interacting whilst having their meals. Behind them are bamboo sticks lined up against the steel fence. Among them are adult men and a young boy. There are conversations

taking place on each table. The meals, as well the barbecued meat, are served on boards. There are white plates stacked at each table but they are unused. Other white plates have spring green vegetables (muriwo) and sadza. The customers are observed using their fingers to eat sadza and meat and there is no cutlery on the tables. There are bottles of beer and soft drinks.

The salient elements captured by the photographer are the men eating and the use of hands, the astroturf and the bamboo fence to resemble a 'home' garden. These men seem to know each other, and they also appear to be sharing food among them. e'Khaya, in this case, seems to be using these elements to symbolically represent a community. The eating together from the same plates with their hands seems to be used to represent trust among the members of the group. The image appears to be utilising the empty plates to show how the people in the image act as a community with similar eating habits that do not need extra plates since they can eat from the same plate. To an extent, the dominance of sadza, meat and spring vegetables overshadows the alcohol beverages which in themselves are brands found in the U.K. This seems to show that e'Khaya 's target market is predominately Zimbabwean.

The image below shows another garden image posted on e'Khaya's social media site.

People eating at e'Khaya


Source: e'Khaya (2017)

There are two women with four children. The image gives the impression that they are the mothers of these children. The small girl is sat in between the women and three boys are sat across the table. On their tables are three plates with different foods which they are eating. They are all using hands to eat. Three bottles of J2 orange drinks are on the table. The photograph seems as if it was taken in the

summer given the way they are all dressed. e'Khaya appears to be showing that children can learn Zimbabwean food consumption practices making it the ideal place for passing down food knowledge to future generations. However, e'Khaya also seems to show that these children may also want other foods and drink as seen by the presence of J2 orange drinks on the table.

The product

Menu- Image and Content:

The image below shows a picture of the e'Khaya restaurant menu which was produced by the owner of the restaurant for their social media.

e'Khaya menu


Source: e'Khaya (2018)

The menu of e'Khaya has sections which show some of the foods served. The foods include sides and a section labelled 'flavours of Africa'. Most of the names of the foods are written in the Shona language. Other foods of African flavours have their names written in English. Special names like Highfiridzi-Zimbabwe special (a township in Harare) are named after popular Zimbabwean street food. The menu has plantains, Jolof rice and curly fries as sides which form a few selections of foreign cuisine. Here, the restaurant appears to be using Zimbabwean language (Shona) to name foods, signalling their cultural identity and food practices. They further cement their relationship with Africa in the 'flavours for Africa' and Zimbabwe in particular by referencing the Highfiridzi Zimbabwe special.

Food Presentation: The food presentation in the image below shows one plate with sadza, barbecued meat and salad. This is not a professional photograph but was taken in e'Khaya's kitchen. The smaller plate has traditional spring greens mixed with peanut butter. The large plate in the background dominates the space. The photographer has put the smaller plate in the foreground highlighting the spring vegetables with peanut butter cooked in a traditional way that seems to be specific to Zimbabwean food cuisine. e'Khaya seems to be interested in the traditions of how the food is cooked and presented in a Zimbabwean home. They appear to be emphasizing on the vegetables with peanut butter which is rare to find in the UK.  Figure 6.30 shows an image of how food presentation is done at e'Khaya.

e'Khaya food presentation

Source: e'Khaya (2018)

Portion Size: The image below shows food portions served at e'Khaya restaurant. The picture is again staged and was taken in e'Khaya' kitchen and uses the lighting as a way of highlighting the significant elements of the food.

Food portions at e'Khaya

Source: e'Khaya (2017)

From image below, there is a plate with a large portion of meat, salad and a gravy bowl. Spring green vegetables and sadza are served in two separate plates. The portions seem to be larger than those of Nakira and Nando's. The photo seems to give the impression that the food at e'Khaya is made of large portions which can be shared by a group of people. The portion size itself tells a story of common behaviour in countries where sadza is eaten in groups.

The atmosphere

The atmosphere at e'Khaya seems to be about the recreation of an 'authentic' 'African' and 'homely' experience. In their images, the restaurant shows one type of ethnic group that 'seem' Zimbabwean. They appear to use this approach and the cultural symbols and food practices to create this 'authentic' Zimbabwean experience. These experiences are also compounded by the way they use fresh ingredients to cook from scratch - again to bring the illusion of 'home' for the patrons.